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Obukhov Assesses State of Disarmament Talks

LD0408174888 Moscow TASS in English 1739 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Geneva August 4 TASS—The drafting of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has been described by the head of the Soviet delegation as the major outcome of the Geneva talks between the USSR and the United States on nuclear and space arms.

Ambassador-at-large Aleksey Obukhov was speaking today at a plenary session of the disarmament conference. He set out the Soviet assessment of the state of affairs at the talks.

The INF Treaty, the ambassador said, while endorsing the balance of the sides' interests, was reliably serving the cause of stronger universal security.

It was characterised by a carefully elaborated and viable system of verifying strict and unconditional compliance with the pledges assumed.

Following the conclusion of the INF Treaty, he said, the Soviet and American negotiators concentrated their efforts on meeting two principal goals—drafting a treaty that would halve strategic offensive arms and a separate agreement on ABM Treaty-related issues.

Describing in detail the work already carried out in this direction, the chief Soviet negotiator assured the participants in the disarmament conference that the Soviet side was striving to make a vigorous and productive contribution to the concerted endeavour to complete as soon as possible the preparation of the corresponding instruments.

Urges 'Active, Productive Work'

LD0508011788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1754 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Geneva, 4 Aug (TASS)—Roving Ambassador A.A. Obukhov, leader of the Soviet delegation at the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms, has spoken at the plenary sitting of the disarmament conference. He informed the participants of the Soviet side's assessment of the state of affairs at those talks.

The speech noted that the Soviet delegation came to the present round of talks with the firm intention of very quickly drawing up a treaty on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons under conditions of adhering to the ABM Treaty. This is the mandate given to the delegations as a result of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Moscow.

Guided by this mandate, said Obukhov, from the very start of the present round the Soviet delegation has pursued a line of accelerated development of the talks, presenting a whole range of constructive proposals. The Soviet delegation expects an appropriate reaction to these proposals from the United States.

During the first few weeks of the present round, continued the Soviet representative, we succeeded in achieving a certain amount of progress in some things. But one must be self-critical: This progress is very modest. The Soviet side believes that it could be much more significant. A great deal of work remains to be done in settling unresolved issues. To cope successfully with this work both sides must be ready to find solutions, and this readiness must be reinforced by constructive steps at the talks.

In his speech Obukhov devoted particular attention to the need for restrictions—within the framework of the treaty on strategic offensive weapons being prepared—on the deployment of long-range sea-based cruise missiles. If this matter is not resolved, then the treaty on strategic offensive weapons will be ineffective. The conference was acquainted in detail with the comprehensive program of measures for monitoring sea-based cruise missiles which has been put forward by the Soviet Union and which envisages monitoring, in effect, the entire life cycle of those missiles, from the establishment of permanent observation of the perimeter and entry points of facilities for the production of sea-based cruise missiles, right up to the monitoring of their elimination. The Soviet stance envisages that if suspicions were to arise, then any warship belonging to either side would be subject to inspections on a reciprocal basis. The hope was expressed that the United States could be successfully persuaded to accept the effective and far-reaching methods for monitoring long-range sea-based cruise missiles proposed by the Soviet side and thereby resolve the matter of restrictions on these missiles.

It was stressed that a necessary precondition for implementing radical reductions of strategic offensive weapons is the conclusion of an agreement on adherence to the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972 and the nonwithdrawal from it for the duration of an agreed period. The Soviet side is in favor of such an agreement reflecting fully and accurately the Washington accord on matters pertaining to the ABM Treaty in its appropriate legal formulation.

The speech also made note of the tremendous significance of the experience of concluding and beginning to implement the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles for drawing up bilateral or multilateral accords on other disarmament issues, for instance, for finding solutions in preparing a draft convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons.

In conclusion, Obukhov stressed that in line with the instructions given to the delegations by the Soviet and U.S. leaders during their meeting in Moscow, the Soviet side is ready for active and productive work in order,

without losing momentum, to bring to a rapid conclusion the preparation of the respective joint draft documents in cooperation with the U.S. representatives at the talks. The future treaty can only be the result of a joint effort by both sides.

Soviet Negotiator on Nuclear Test Ban Talks

LD0408151188 Moscow TASS in English 1456 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 4 TASS—"The Soviet Union favours the earliest complete and general prohibition of nuclear tests," said Igor Palenykh, head of the Soviet delegation at the Soviet-U.S. full-scale talks on limiting and terminating nuclear tests, held in Geneva. He spoke at a briefing held today at the Press Centre of the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

Speaking about the 25th anniversary of the signing of the Moscow Treaty banning nuclear-weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and underwater, to be observed on August 5, he took note of its great significance both for curbing the development of nuclear arms and the arms race and for protecting the environment. At the same time the Soviet spokesman stressed that the question of banning underground nuclear tests had not been solved yet.

Igor Palenykh said that the issue currently on the agenda is a coordinate verification measure which would make it possible to ratify the 1974 Soviet-American explosions treaty. To ensure the ratification of those documents, the Soviet Union had agreed with the USA on holding a joint experiment on verifying nuclear tests.

"We hope that the experiment will produce mutually acceptable solutions, bearing on the verification of the above-mentioned Soviet-American treaties and on further agreements in this field," the Soviet expert said. "As we see them, the bilateral stage-by-stage talks are only one, although important, tool of tackling the problem of nuclear tests prohibition. At any moment the Soviet Union is ready to return to the moratorium on nuclear tests on a mutual basis."

Chernyshev on Ratification of Nuclear Treaties

LD0408203688 Moscow TASS in English 2015 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 4 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

The treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and underwater (the Treaty of Moscow) was signed by representatives of the USSR, the USA and Great Britain in Moscow August 5, 1963.

Now that 25 years have passed since that date and the USSR and the USA are conducting full scale talks on limitation and, in the long run, termination of nuclear testing, it would be useful to look back and take into consideration the lessons connected with working out and signing of the treaty of 1963.

The U.S. Administration, essentially, then started realizing the fact that a total nuclear war is senseless. Speaking in the American University in Washington on June 10, 1963 John Kennedy emphasized the provision that the USSR and the USA, alongside considerable differences, also have common important and intransient interests which create an objective basis for diplomatic settlement and maintenance of peaceful relations.

By all indications, the President and his associates viewed the Moscow Treaty on nuclear weapon tests not just as a separate important agreement on continuing the nuclear arms race and getting rid of radioactive fallout but also as a starting point for further measures toward the easing of international tension.

At the same time another lesson connected with the passage of this document in the U.S. Senate deserves to be mentioned. Alongside protecting the treaty as a step to peace, representatives of the administration were glorifying it as a means of preserving the military advantages of the United States. It was asserted, specifically, that by restricting nuclear testing to the tests staged underground, where the explosions are more complicated and costlier, and where the USA has more experience, Washington would allegedly be able to hamper Soviet progress and extend the period of technological supremacy of the United States. It was said that the treaty is a result of the United States strength.

This can serve as an evidence how much the U.S. Administration then relied on the U.S. military might, on the hopes of preserving preponderance of the United States over the Soviet Union.

It should be admitted that the USSR's military-political leadership then failed to rise to the occasion. The USSR's negative attitude to on-site inspections was one of the reasons used by definite circles in the West for placing barriers in the way of comprehensive ban on nuclear testing. Specifically, the two "threshold" treaties, concluded in 1974 and 1976, have not been ratified.

A qualitatively new situation has formed now largely due to the fact that we have abandoned the previous dogmata and stereotypes. The USSR, specifically, for the sake of achieving the aims of disarmament earlier, expressed the readiness for priority development of measures of control. Thus it is recorded in the joint Soviet-American statement on the beginning of the talks on nuclear testing that during the talks the sides will agree upon effective measures of verification as an initial step to make it possible to ratify the 1974 Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests (Threshold Test Ban Treaty) and the 1976 Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes (Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty) and will embark upon agreeing

on further intermediate restrictions on nuclear testing on the way to the final goal, complete termination of nuclear testing as part of effective process of disarmament.

Supreme Soviet Deputy on Conventional Arms Talks
PM0408131788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Aug 88 Second Edition p 6

[Article by Yuriy Zhukov, deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet: "Why Are Things Being Held Up? It Is Time To Seriously Tackle the Reduction of 'Conventional' Arms"—boldface as published]

[Text] An interesting conversation with B. Vogel, president of the FRG Bundesrat (land chamber) and prime minister of the Rhineland-Palatinate state, recently took place at the USSR parliamentary group. There was a discussion of the proposals advanced by M.S. Gorbachev aimed at reducing so-called "conventional" arms.

In this connection, the guest was told that for 2 years now the Warsaw Pact states have been awaiting a reply to their proposals on this question, and that the Soviet leadership now proposes holding an all-European summit meeting and discussing how to break the present vicious circle and ensure the transition from words to deeds in the sphere of reducing "conventional" arms.

Our interlocutor showed great interest in these proposals and voiced confidence that the FRG Government will study them with due attention. Still, I asked: "But how are we to understand the report carried by DPA on 13 July that 'the FRG ruling coalition of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] and the Christian Social Union [CSU] has turned down the Soviet proposal to hold an all-European summit conference'?" The agency cited a statement by M. Geiger, foreign policy spokeswoman for the CDU-CSU's Bundestag faction, who, justifying the negative stand on this issue, declared from Bonn that "no one will allow himself to be wrested from the United States," even though the USSR's proposal certainly does not rule out U.S. participation in such a conference.

To this, B. Vogel replied that, of course, every Bundestag deputy, including M. Geiger, has a right to express his own personal opinion. He noted, however, that he was certain this was not the opinion of the government and the ruling FRG party, and that he would like his opinion to be published in PRAVDA along with the DPA report. I now fulfill his request all the more readily because FRG official government spokesman F. Ost and Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher soon expressed themselves in the same spirit as B. Vogel.

I will point out in passing that M. Geiger also soon radically altered her own viewpoint. When a correspondent for the Deutschlandfunk radio station a few days later asked her whether she supported M.S. Gorbachev's idea of holding an all-European summit meeting, she replied: "Yes, that can be supported, and we very much like certain details of the proposal. It is necessary to discuss how this idea, which is important to us, can be implemented."

This episode might not have merited attention if not for a characteristic and, I would say, typical circumstance: It showed that the old reflex action still has not, unfortunately, been overcome in Western political circles—news agencies hardly have time to report new proposals from socialist countries before the usual stereotype comes into play: You must straightaway say "no" or express doubt. And only then can you start investigating the essence of the matter.

I will remind you that M. Geiger was not alone. As early as 14 July, THE WASHINGTON POST carried a report that NATO Headquarters had turned down the "new Soviet proposal advanced in Warsaw." At almost the same time, as the newspaper SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG wrote on 16 July, a White House spokesman ventured to call the idea of convening an all-European summit conference a "fraudulent maneuver."

But during those same days broad circles of the Western public actively supported the new ideas advanced by the USSR, which were made the basis of the action program drawn up by the Warsaw Pact countries' Political Consultative Committee. The leaders of a number of West European states unambiguously declared their desire to familiarize themselves in depth with that program, which, in their opinion, is of considerable interest. Then Washington and the NATO headquarters moderated their usual deliberate skepticism and started saying that the Warsaw Pact states' statement about talks on reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe must be "studied very closely," as an official spokesman for NATO's international secretariat finally said on 18 July.

Today, probably no one objects any longer to this detailed action program. It is a good thing to study any proposal. But this is the question: How long do our partners intend to spend doing this?

I will remind you that for more than 1 year now—since February 1987—a dialogue has been under way in Vienna within the framework of the meeting of the 35 participant states in the all-European conference between representatives of the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries **"on the subject and purpose"** of future talks on reducing "conventional" arms. As long ago as 23 June, R. Ridgway, assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian affairs, declared in the House of Representatives that "agreement has already been reached on two-thirds of the provisions of the mandate for future talks on reducing conventional arms." It was said in Vienna that the mandate would finally be drawn up in July and that the talks would begin in October.

But July is already over, and there is still no end in sight to the talking in Vienna. What is holding things up? As R. Ridgway frankly said in the same statement, "the wording of the mandate has still not been finalized owing to differences of opinion that exist not only between the sides but also **within** our bloc." That is the crux of the matter!

Washington is plainly displeased that its West European allies, who are tired of the arms race and tension, are increasingly openly advocating adopting the new thinking.

When on 14 July R. Ridgway again had to address the House of Representatives in connection with a discussion of the new Soviet proposals, she bluntly said: "Frankly speaking, we are getting serious misgivings about certain elements of the stand of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and the Federal Republic in the security sphere. We find it hard to understand how, for example, their proposals on the immediate cessation of nuclear tests, on zones free of nuclear and chemical weapons in central Europe, and on the rejection of first use of nuclear weapons for the defense of Europe—how these proposals fit in with the NATO strategy, which consists of forward defense, flexible response, and nuclear deterrence... Such ideas sow confusion."

I recently talked with a prominent diplomat from a major NATO country. He showed keen interest in the decisions adopted by the Political Consultative Commission. We spoke of the problems of the "common European home," of how it is necessary to develop economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation and humanitarian ties among all countries, and how important it is for the general well-being to reach agreement as quickly as possible on ending the arms race.

When, in this connection, my interlocutor also touched on the question of reducing "conventional" arms, I remarked that the word "conventional" should now be placed in quotation marks because the destructive impact of the present technically sophisticated kinds of nonnuclear weapons is now only a little less than the effect of nuclear weapons. Therefore, concern for mankind's survival demands that the cardinal reduction of not only nuclear but also "conventional," as they are called in the old way, types of weapons be accelerated.

My interlocutor agreed with this, but pessimistic notes were also to be heard in his views.

"You see," he said, "all your Warsaw Pact countries act jointly. We do not know whether there are differences or disagreements among you. In our case the agreement on common positions takes place in full view of everyone, and therefore it is a very complex matter. When you hold bilateral talks with the Americans, everything there is clear and simple: Only two sides are in evidence. But when multilateral talks begin, everything becomes complicated—there are as many positions as participants. Therefore, talks on conventional arms will be complex and lengthy."

I would like to think, however, that the Western diplomat's somber forecast will not come true. It is no coincidence that even FRG Defense Minister R. Scholz, who sought "ex officio," as it were, to campaign for a strengthening of arms, deemed it necessary to declare in an article carried in the newspaper DIE WELT: "The reduction of conventional arms is the next and chief task for Europe." In this connection, he advocated the NATO allies' speediest elaboration of a general concept of disarmament and mutual security.

Of course, the formulation of this NATO "general concept" is an important and necessary matter for the members of that bloc. But, as FRG Foreign Ministry spokesman J. Chrobog specified, "the NATO countries' formulation of a joint concept with regard to disarmament problems is not, in the opinion of the FRG Government, an obligatory precondition for the start of talks on reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe."

NATO Secretary General M. Woerner expressed himself in the same spirit on 26 July.

This stand should, of course, be welcomed since a further delay over starting the talks would be dangerous. This is because as talk about this matter proceeds, the heavy flywheel of the arms race is continuing to turn. In the FRG itself, whose government publicly advocates accelerating an accord on reducing "conventional" arms, it is now planned to increase defense spending by almost DM2 billion.

The Soviet proposal to hold a "second Reykjavik"—an all-European summit meeting with, of course, the participation of the United States and Canada—which is actively supported by many governments, is acquiring all the more significance. As Norwegian Defense Minister J.J. Holst rightly pointed out on 12 July in support of this idea, "it is very important that the talks on arms control be conducted not only by experts. The main political areas must be discussed and determined at a higher level. It is also necessary to hold such a forum to achieve progress at the talks, to begin the process of reducing conventional arms, and to promote its successful implementation."

The sooner this forum is held, the greater the chances of real disarmament will be.

Perfilyev Holds Foreign Ministry News Briefing

Mujahidin Plan CW Use

LD0408144988 Moscow TASS in English 1412 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 4 TASS—"Disquieting reports originated in Afghanistan to the effect that armed units of the 'Islamic Party of Afghanistan' possess chemical weapons [CW]. They plan to use them, specifically, in the provinces of Kabul and Nangarhar," a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman said today.

Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, told a briefing here that the Voice of America radio station, quoting a spokesman for the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" who recently visited the United States, asserted on July 3 that the reports in the Soviet mass media about use of chemical weapons by the Afghan armed opposition were allegedly linked with the USSR's aspiration to "prevent the detection of true culprits" involved.

"In our view," said the Soviet spokesman, "these are the signs that the armed units of the irreconcilable opposition are probably preparing to implement the plans of using chemical weapons.

"These plans tally with their intentions to step up combat operations in Kabul and Nangarhar, placing all responsibility for the consequences on Soviet and Afghan troops." [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1500 GMT on 4 August carries a similar report on the segment of USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev's briefing which deals with plans by the Afghan opposition to use chemical weapons. At this point the radio version adds: "We have also already here discussed the rumors which are being spread about in Afghanistan concerning allegations that mortar attacks on Kabul are being carried out by Soviet forces. These rumors are being spread in spite of the fact that it is fully obvious that they are totally without foundation.

"As for chemical weapons, this is not the first report of this nature. Of course, if chemical preparations or poisonous substances are received from somewhere, using them is not a complicated matter: This can even be done by untrained persons, among others. In that event a crime will occur which is all the more serious, because it is intended to use chemical weapons under the conditions of internal struggle in that country. It is dreadful to imagine that those chemical weapons can also become a weapon of international terror in that country."]

"No attempts to lay the blame for the use of chemical weapons in Afghanistan on the Soviet Union will remain without a proper response in the spirit of the policy of openness," said the ministry spokesman.

"We will do everything so that it becomes absolutely clear what party may use chemical weapons in Afghanistan, so that it becomes obvious to you, journalists. In this case, you will have a chance to see for themselves who are the real perpetrators."

On the Wednesday talks between Eduard Shevardnadze and Pakistani Foreign Minister Yaqub Khan, the Soviet spokesman drew attention to the Pakistani official's remark that Pakistan intended to abide by the Geneva agreements in good faith.

Perfilyev stated that the Soviet side persistently raised the question of the release of Soviet prisoners-of-war.

"During the conversation with the Pakistani minister, the Soviet side expressed particular displeasure with the fact that the state maintaining the Afghan opposition did not help us on this important matter although it is well known that there are Soviet prisoners-of-war on Pakistani territory and that they are transferred to the United States via Pakistani territory.

"This is the more strange if one takes into account the fact that President Ziaul Haq told us that, being a military man himself, he understood well the POW problems, and Yaqub Khan endured the pains of German captivity."

Views Matthias Rust Release

LD0408130488 Moscow TASS in English 1252 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 4 TASS—People in the Soviet Union hope that the act of humaneness—the release of Mathias Rust from prison—will be duly evaluated by the West Germany public and the government, Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, told a briefing here today. In the Soviet Union they also hope that all necesssary measures will be taken to prevent such illegitimate actions on the part of West German citizens in the future.

Rust committed a serious crime and the sentence handed down to him is fully grounded, the Soviet spokesman noted. Considering, however, his repentance in what he did and also the appeal by Rust himself, his relatives and representatives of the West German leadership for an early release, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet deemed it possible to release him and expel him from the USSR.

Lithuanian Priest Release Cited

LD0408142688 Moscow TASS in English 1407 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 4 TASS—By the June 28 decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Svarinskas, former rector of the Catholic Church in Vidukla, Lithuania, was pardoned and released from detention before the expiry of the term, Vadim Perfilyev, deputy

head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry told the news briefing today. Svarinskas was allowed to leave for the Federal Republic of Germany, from where he received an invitation. On August 1 he received visa at the FRG Embassy.

Svarinskas, the Soviet spokesman said, was convicted thrice for especially grave state crimes. He was one of the masterminds of illegal activities of the reactionary-minded clergy, delivered slanderous sermons and engaged in compiling and distributing in the republic and abroad of materials which contained rude attacks against the policy of the Soviet state.

Statement on Souther 'Asylum'

LD0408152388 Moscow TASS in English 1503 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 4 TASS—U.S. citizen Glenn Michael Souther met today at the Consular Service of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs with representatives of the U.S. Embassy in the USSR, at which he reaffirmed to the U.S. side that he took a decision to request political asylum in the Soviet Union conscientiously and voluntarily. A statement to this effect was made at a briefing here by Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry.

Vadim Perfilyev explained that a request came from the U.S. Embassy in Moscow to the Consular Service of the USSR Foreign Ministry on July 22 that the embassy officials be allowed to meet with G.M. Souther. The request was granted considering Souther's consent.

As has already been reported, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, guided by humanitarian considerations granted G.M. Souther political asylum in the Soviet Union.

Notes Brazilian Navy Visit

LD0408164688 Moscow TASS in English 1409 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 4 TASS—For the first time in the history of Soviet-Brazilian relations, a training ship of the Brazilian Navy, Brazil, arrives today in Leningrad for an official three-day visit at an invitation from the main naval headquarters of the USSR, Vadim Perfilyev, USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman, told a news briefing here. The ship's crew consists of some 200 cadets of the Brazilian naval forces.

During the stay in Leningrad, the guests from Brazil will meet with the municipal authorities, will visit historic places and familiarize themselves with cultural monuments, the USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

The visit of the Brazilian ship is welcomed in the Soviet Union. The development of such contacts reflecting the growing mutual understanding and confidence among countries is favoured in the USSR, Perfilyev emphasized.

Daily Views Approach to Asia-Pacific Security

PM2807142588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[Political observer Vsevolod Ovchinnikov article: "Vladivostok Initiatives"]

[Text] The Soviet Union's appeal for a joint search for ways to strengthen peace, security, and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region was issued in Vladivostok 2 years ago. Being a constituent part of the region, the USSR is sincerely interested in ensuring that this rapidly developing region does not become an arena of military confrontation, and that it instead actively joins in the process of creating an all-embracing system of international security. It was in the name of this goal that the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee advanced in Vladivostok a comprehensive program of action in five areas: to settle regional conflicts, to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons in the region, to limit the activity of fleets and the military presence in general in the Pacific and Indian Ocean basin, to radically reduce armed forces and conventional arms in Asia, and to embark on a practical discussion of confidence-building measures.

All these tasks still retain their topicality. At the same time, certain progress has become apparent in the first and second of the above-mentioned points. The prospects have emerged for a political settlement in Afghanistan and Cambodia on the basis of national reconciliation. Soviet troops are being withdrawn from Afghanistan in accordance with the Geneva agreements, and half of them will have returned home by 15 August. The withdrawal of the Vietnamese volunteers from Cambodia has also been speeded up. By the end of the year 50,000 men—half the total number—will have left the country. The opportunity to end two protracted fratricidal conflicts has arisen, and it must not be missed.

The events of the past 2 years attest to an important change in the sentiments of the peoples of Asia and the Pacific. They are becoming increasingly profoundly aware that true security in the region can only be nuclear-free. The example of New Zealand is significant in this respect. Unafraid of U.S. sanctions, its Parliament has lent the force of law to a decision not to allow into port foreign ships carrying nuclear weapons. A portentous landmark in improving the regional climate was the Rarotonga Treaty, which proclaimed the South Pacific a nuclear-free zone. Unfortunately, the United States, Britain, and France have refused to accede to it.

Washington has also voiced its negative attitude toward an idea which is increasingly actively being advocated by ASEAN members: to turn Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality, and to proclaim it a nuclear-free zone. That would, of course, be an obstacle to the use of the U.S. bases located along the line where the Pacific and Indian Oceans meet. The talks between Manila and Washington on the future fate of the bases are proceeding with difficulty. This is because the text of the new Philippine Constitution includes a provision that, in keeping with its national interests, the Philippines will pursue a policy of refusing nuclear arms on its territory. The growth in such sentiments is very characteristic. The people in many countries do not wish to tolerate a situation whereby nuclear weapons end up in ports or at airfields in transit, as it were, without the knowledge of the people. And the voice of the public frequently becomes an obstacle to this.

During the past 2 years, the Soviet Union has demonstrated in practice its readiness to also advance other areas of the Vladivostok program, which 1 year later was further developed in M.S. Gorbachev's replies to the Indonesian newspaper MERDEKA. The Soviet Union's consent to the total elimination of its intermediate-range missiles not only in Europe but also in Asia (without linking this initiative to the U.S. nuclear presence in South Korea, in the Philippines, and on the island of Diego Garcia) was essentially the first real step toward nuclear disarmament in the Asia-Pacific region. The USSR expressed its readiness to not increase the number of nuclear-capable aircraft in the Asian part of the country unless the United States stations additional nuclear capabilities in the region which are capable of reaching Soviet territory. The proposal has been repeated to reduce Soviet and U.S. naval activity in the Pacific—in particular, to limit the sailing areas of warships so that they do not approach the other side's coast within range of their onboard nuclear systems.

Subsequent events have confirmed how right the Soviet leader was to place special emphasis on ensuring the security of international sea lanes. I will remind you that he proposed renouncing naval maneuvers in international straits and confirmed the USSR's readiness for talks on guarantees of safe shipping in the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, and the Straits of Hormuz and Malacca. If this proposal had been adopted, it would have been possible to avoid the grave consequences of the "tanker war" and such tragic episodes as the destruction of the passenger aircraft downed by a U.S. missile.

If we speak of the military aspects of the initiatives advanced in Vladivostok and made concrete in the replies to MERDEKA, the majority of them are addressed to the United States and proceed from the understanding that the problem of regional security cannot be resolved without a search for an agreement with it. This alone refutes the fabrication that Moscow's foreign policy activeness in the Asia-Pacific area is aimed at isolating Washington from its allies. However, it is time that U.S. politicians also realized that the problems of this part of the world cannot be discussed fruitfully without the participation of all this region's states, and still less against their will.

As for the fifth point in the Vladivostok program concerning confidence-building measures, the Soviet Union is ready to discuss this question on both a multilateral and a bilateral basis, including with Japan. The country which experienced the tragedies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is capable of effectively opposing the Asia-Pacific region from being turned into an arena of nuclear confrontation. It would be possible, for example, to impart an international legal nature to the USSR's pledge not to use nuclear weapons against Japan if the latter pledged to strictly abide by its proclaimed "three nonnuclear principles."

However, Tokyo has preferred to toughen its stand. First, it says, regional problems must be settled, including, in addition to Afghanistan and Cambodia, the notorious question of the "northern territories." Only after these have been resolved, it says, will Japan be ready to hold talks on confidence-building measures in the Far East and on other forms of its participation in the all-Asian process. This year, for the first time, the Japanese head of state started speaking of the "northern territories" at the Toronto meeting of the leaders of the seven leading capitalist powers in an irresponsible attempt to place this topic in the context of global East-West confrontation.

Japanese official circles are still trying more loudly than anyone else to demonstrate that the security formula elaborated in Europe is not applicable to Asia. Of course, the specific nature of the Asia-Pacific region must not be ignored. In addition, the USSR has not the slightest wish to impose on other states a ready-made formula of all-Asian security. Instead, it urges them to jointly participate in its elaboration. It is not a question of a mechanical transfer of European experience to Asian soil but rather one of taking account of the Helsinki conference and implementing in practice the principles which the peoples of Asia themselves elaborated in the past. The concept of all-Asian security has not been born from nothing. According to the Indian prime minister, the Bandung [Indonesia] principles of "panchshila" [the five moral, ethical principles of conduct between governments] and nonalignment to which the CPSU Central Committee general secretary referred in his Vladivostok speech create a theoretical and political framework for analyzing the problems of the Asia-Pacific region.

Precisely this part of the world is characterized by a fusion of the humanist philosophies of East and West, which are capable of giving rise to unusual solutions to present-day problems. A graphic example is provided by the Delhi declaration signed by the leaders of the USSR and India. This document, which calls for a world free from nuclear weapons and violence, is a model of the new political thinking. As a party to the "initiative of the

six" and a member of the Nonaligned Movement, India is a champion of the slogan "disarmament for development." It also makes a useful contribution to the cause of a political settlement in Afghanistan and Cambodia, to ending the Iran-Iraq war and the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka, and likewise it persistently advocates turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace.

China's independent, autonomous foreign policy course, which was confirmed by the 13th CPC Congress, is becoming a weighty, positive factor in the development of the all-Asia process. Declaring its adherence to peace and to settling disputed issues by political means, Beijing is coming out increasingly actively against the nuclear race and its transfer into space. Having adopted back in 1964 a unilateral pledge not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, China has since 1986 renounced atmospheric tests of them. Beijing welcomed the Soviet-U.S. accord on eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, subscribed to the Rarotonga Treaty, supported Pyongyang's initiative to turn the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone, and adopted a positive attitude toward the idea of creating a similar zone in Southeast Asia. The Chinese leadership unequivocally advocates eliminating the foreign military presence and foreign military bases in Asia and the Pacific.

The future of the Asia-Pacific region depends on the abilities of its states to seek and find the optimum balance of their interests and, when necessary, to subordinate them to interests common to all mankind. The Soviet Union does not divide its foreign policy into European and Asian elements. It seeks to merge the antiwar, antinuclear efforts of the two continents—Europe and Asia—in a unified Eurasian process.

The Vladivostok initiatives are an invitation to think about how—through making economic ties dynamic, through bilateral and multilateral political dialogue, through the creation of zones of confidence, and through other steps—to begin moving in the interests of all who have a bearing on the Asia-Pacific region, in the name of 21st-century civilization.

Of course, the development of the all-Asia process is a long-term task which has to be resolved step by step, proceeding from the simple to the complex. However, Europe's experience gives grounds for hoping that the Vladivostok impulse will also prompt the peoples of Asia and the Pacific to pool their efforts to lay the foundations of regional security.

Paper Discusses European Unity, Disarmament
PM0208152588 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 31 Jul 88 p 3

[Political observer Vladlen Kuznetsov "Review of Events": "Europe—The Flagship of Detente?..."]

[Text] The solution to key questions of nuclear disarmament and the settlement of regional conflicts, which is impossible to imagine without the two mightiest powers on the planet, has focused worldwide interest on the USSR and the United States. Nonetheless, Europe remains Europe. Its political weight is a constant in world politics. Many threads are interwoven here, representing the weave of contemporary international relations. On many occasions during the postwar years, Europe has acted as "trendsetter" on the world political stage.

But could Europe feel satisfied with itself today? I think that the role of a Narcissus admiring his image in a mirror would not be appropriate for it. The 13th anniversary of the signing in Helsinki of the Final Act of the All-European Conference will be celebrated on 1 August. Much has been achieved in this time, but there is also much that remains to be done. Consequently, now is the time to look back over the path that has been traveled, tally up the pluses and minuses, and rethink the entire situation in Europe in light of new phenomena and trends in the world arena, from the standpoint of the new political thinking. Now is the time to set future guidelines and map out the path toward a new Europe.

Part of this important work was done in Warsaw—at the session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee and during M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Poland. Ideas were put forward whose implementation would impart dynamism to our continent's political life and would make it possible to formulate a solution to the entire package of problems whose settlement will determine Europeans' present and future.

The idea of convening a meeting of all European countries to discuss the question of really getting down to reducing conventional arms, which is most topical and most important for Europe today, has been submitted for pan-European discussion.

Proposals put forward by the Warsaw Pact members in Warsaw are now on NATO's table. The socialist countries are already prepared to start talks on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe this year. They propose the implementation of such reductions in three stages and eliminating imbalances and asymmetries in individual types of weapons on both sides. The Warsaw Pact members also spoke in favor of holding in the near future separate talks on the reduction and subsequent elimination of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, including nuclear components of dual-purpose systems. A proposal has been submitted to create a center for the reduction of the danger of war and the prevention of a surprise attack in Europe. Such a center could become the focus of cooperation between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. An effective specific measure has been proposed to ease military confrontation on the continent: withdrawal of Soviet aircraft from their forward bases in East Europe provided that NATO abandons the relocation of 72 F-16 U.S. fighter-bombers from Spain to Italy. An address by the Warsaw Pact members on the acute exacerbation of the ecological situation on the continent has been addressed to NATO states and all

European countries. The idea behind this action is to take advantage of positive developments in the disarmament sphere to pool and galvanize all-European efforts for the protection of the environment.

All these ideas and projects enrich and develop the concept of an all-European home, which is gaining support among the continent's public and politicians. The outlines of this home are still vague and subject to arguments. Therefore, anything that would make the plan more precise is all the more important.

First of all, the all-European home is difficult to imagine unless it becomes a forum of all-European political cooperation. If a common language is discovered in determining Europe's political future, it would be easier to discover a common language on all remaining questions. The new political Europe can be created only on the basis of a strict and fair balance of all states' interests, their freedom of choice, their noninterference in one another's affairs; the repudiation of confrontational thinking, antagonism, and the "enemy image"; and the exploitation of ideological struggle to fan mistrust and enmity.

The all-European home needs firm material foundations. This means that business cooperation between the continent's two parts must become more intensive, more meaningful, and more dynamic. Its present level is hardly likely to satisfy anyone, especially since there are still clots to be removed from the blood vessels of economic cooperation: bans on technological exports, restrictions, sanctions, and so on. There is also another problem: An economically strong and effective Europe cannot be created unless joint efforts are made to cure ecological ailments. These are dangerous, perhaps even more dangerous than we imagine today.

Serious integration processes are under way both in the West and East of the continent. Are there any chances of somehow integrating these processes themselves? After all, it is in Europe's interest to prevent these from passing each other like ships at sea. Meanwhile, certain aspects of West European integration cannot but evoke caution. Will it not assume the role of something like NATO's twin or double? Will it not start drawing more and more states within its own sphere of influence, and later within the North Atlantic sphere of influence?

The conclusion of the CEMA-EEC agreement testifies that there are points of contact between the two integration groupings. The task is to take advantage of them, and to expand the scope of collaboration so that the two integration processes can develop in the same direction—toward equal, constructive, and mutually advantageous cooperation on an all-European basis.

There is still rather too much combustible material stockpiled on the site where the all-European home is due to be built. The level of military confrontation is inordinately high; it is excessive. A permanent structure of European security cannot be erected on ground that is full of landmines. Therefore, Europe needs military detente like it needs fresh air, clean water, and green forests, like it needs the carefully preserved treasures of culture and monuments of antiquity.

As soon as people in NATO learned of the new initiatives and proposals coming from Moscow, they struck a note of skepticism. There was a shower of standard accusations that the Warsaw Pact members are striving to score propaganda points, that they are once again reaching for the notorious "wedge" and are trying to drive it between the United States and West Europe. They would have done better to ask themselves: To what extent is it appropriate to engage in nonnuclear arms upgrading, "compensation," and "modernization" in response to the first measure of actual nuclear disarmament? They would have done better to ask the question: Are the new militarist axes, the arms pools, and the creation of various military brigades and "multinational NATO units" in line with the interests of a peaceful Europe? They would have done better to ponder: How constructive is the line of the leaders of a state which is going all-out to maintain its military bases in Europe against the will of peoples and at times even against the wish of governments, a state which forces aircraft expelled from one NATO country onto another?

The proposals by the Warsaw Pact members demand a serious and businesslike approach. And if people in the West of the continent, including certain NATO circles, are giving assurances that they are serious about the idea of an all-European home and want to build it jointly with the East, then it is wrong to reject out of hand the construction material suggested by the other side without properly finding out what is what.

Europe must remain Europe—a flagship of political and military detente and constructive economic cooperation, a pioneer in new political thinking.

United States & Canada

Carlucci Concludes Talks, Comments on Visit

Meets Black Sea Admiral

PM0508092588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Aug 88 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report under the general heading "Visiting Black Sea Sailors"]

[Text] On 3 August, U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci arrived in Sevastopol where he visited Admiral M.N. Khronopulo, commander of the Black Sea Fleet. F. Carlucci acquainted himself with the hero city's historic places, saw the diorama "the storming of Sapun hill, 7 May 1944," and laid flowers at the Obelisk of Glory by the eternal flame on Sapun hill.

The commander of the Black Sea Fleet gave a dinner in the U.S. defense secretary's honor. Army General D.T. Yazov, USSR defense minister, and Army General V.M. Shabanov, USSR deputy defense minister, were present for the Soviet side, and R. Lehman, U.S. assistant secretary of defense for international security policy, and other officials were present for the American side.

Discusses Results of Tour

LD0408190988 Moscow TASS in English 1847 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text) Moscow August 4 TASS—U.S. Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci said that the aim of his meetings with USSR Defense Minister, General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov had been to promote the lessening of tension in relations between the two countries, contribute to laying down the groundwork for the success of the talks now held by the foreign ministers of the United States and the Soviet Union.

Giving an interview to TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev before departure from the Soviet Union, Carlucci noted that the results of a dialogue with General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov surpassed his expectations. Carlucci said tangible results were being achieved. Within a surprisingly short period of time an arrangement was achieved on working out a procedure for the prevention of dangerous incidents. A decision was made to create a working group that will be dealing with these questions. A good programme of contacts between the military was outlined, Carlucci said. He noted he discovered that this programme evoked enthusiasm of the military of both countries.

The U.S. defence secretary said that in Moscow he had been given a unique opportunity to address officers and teachers of the Academy of the General Staff, to express his critical assessment of the Soviet military doctrine and be answering questions from the audience for half an hour. Carlucci said he familiarised himself with a viewpoint of which he had not been aware earlier. There were still many differences but it was possible now to discuss quietly the viewpoints and look for mutual understanding.

Carlucci emphasized the need to maintain contacts between the military of the two countries and said such contacts overcome lack of understanding in Soviet-American relations.

The head of the U.S. Department of Defence expressed the view that the Armed Forces of the two countries can cooperate in preventing the spread of rocketry technology, in ensuring regional stability, in preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons, in the solution of other problems.

Carlucci said the differences between the two countries are so far of such nature that it will take time to resolve them. But it is absolutely clear that neither of the sides wants an armed conflict. What happened to Sevastopol during World War Two should never be repeated, Carlucci said.

Summary of Visit

LD0408161388 Moscow TASS in English 1539 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Simferopol (the Crimea) August 4 TASS—U.S. Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci flew from the Simferopol Airport to Ankara today upon the end of his official visit to the Soviet Union.

He stayed in the Soviet Union for four days at the invitation of General of the Army Dmitriy Yazov, defence minister of the USSR. During the visit the U.S. defence secretary was received by Andrey Gromyko, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and had a conversation with him. He held talks with the USSR minister of defense, visited a number of Soviet military installations in the Moscow region and Sevastopal, as well as the southern coast of the Crimea.

During the talks with the head of the Pentagon the sides exchanged views of the role played by the USSR and the U.S. in the present-day world, the state of talks between these two countries, especially on disarmament problems, and possible steps to be taken by the two countries on the way to lessening the war threat.

The Soviet Union devotes much attention to problems of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the termination of nuclear tests, the elimination of chemical weapons and the reduction of conventional armaments. However, the key problem of today is the elimination of nuclear weapons. The step taken by the USSR and the U.S. in this direction, the concluding of the INF Treaty, is extremely important. It set the beginning of progress on this way.

At present the Soviet Union attaches tremendous importance to talks on strategic offensive armaments, Andrey Gromyko said during his conversation with the U.S. defence secretary. However, one cannot but express concern over the slow progress at those talks. "We urge the American side to appreciate the significance of the problem in order to give a new impetus to them. The Soviet Union deems it necessary to fully rule out even a possibility of war from relations between the two countries", the head of the Soviet state said.

The U.S. defence secretary held a press confernce for Soviet and foreign journalists on August 2 where he specially pointed out that tangible results had been achieved during the talks with Dmitriy Yazov, that the inspection of Soviet military installations had taken place in an atmosphere of openness, that nothing had been concealed from them.

TV Shows Departure

LD0408192688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 4 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The official visit to the USSR by U.S. Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci, who has been in our country at the invitation of USSR Defense Minister Army General Yazov, ended today.

[Correspondent Yu. Rostov] Here is the missile cruiser "Slava." It has now arrived in Sevastopol. This is the top vessel of the Black Sea Fleet in terms of firepower, protection, and other combat characteristics. It was visited today by Frank Carlucci and Comrade Yazov. The cruiser "Slava" has also navigated outside the confines of the Black Sea; it has frequently been close to U.S. warships, and the U.S. flag has now been hoisted on it alongside the Soviet flag for the first time. Frank Carlucci got to know the crew and inspected its combat weaponry.

After visiting the cruiser, there was a solemn ceremony to see off the U.S. defense secretary. It took place, not at the airport as usual, but in Sevastopol itself, the town where the main base of the Black Sea Fleet is situated and which is, in principle, closed to foreigners. Taking part in the ceremony were Comrade Yazov and Admiral Khronopulo, commander of the Black Sea Fleet.

At the airport prior to his departure Frank Carlucci gave an interview on the results of his visit.

[Begin recording] [Carlucci, in progress, speaking in English with superimposed Russian translation] ...very positive and very enjoyable. We've seen a lot of the Soviet Union. [preceding two sentences untranslated] The impressions have been very positive ones. We have seen your country, we have been to military sites, and we have been shown weapons. I am very grateful for the hospitality which we have encountered.

[Rostov] You have already said that progress was made during the talks. In what areas has this occurred?

[Carlucci] We are planning a considerable broadening of contacts between military personnel. We have moved forward in working out a joint mechanism to prevent dangerous military activity and, in other words, to prevent any activity that could accidentally cause harm to the other side. We also agreed that it is necessary to prevent proliferation in the world of missiles and the technology to manufacture them.

[Carlucci, shaking hands with Yazov] Goodbye, thank you so much.

[Yazov] I wish you good health. [end recording]

[Rostov] Frank Carlucci left our country today.

'Vincennes' Report Raises 'Responsibility' Issue

LD0508012988 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Vladislav Kozyakov commentary]

[Text] A Pentagon spokesman announced on Wednesday that according to investigators, the cruiser "Vincennes" downed the Iranian airbus last month due to human error. Vladislav Kozyakov has this commentary:

The only thing this announcement has clarified is that Washington deluded the public for a whole month. In fact, if the radar operators of the "Vincennes" mistakenly convinced themselves in the stress of the battle that the aircraft they had spotted on their screens was hostile, this means that the United States is responsible for the downing. It's been recognized at last that the responsibility for the destruction of almost 300 passengers lies on none other than the U.S. Navy.

Washington tried to deny this during a whole month that passed since 3 July when missiles fired by the "Vincennes" downed the Iranian airbus. When the incident occurred, Admiral Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, claimed that the aircraft had been outside the prescribed commercial air corridor. He maintained that the airbus was headed for the United States cruiser at high speed.

Other Pentagon spokesmen claim that the Iranian plane was coming in the direction of (?a) ship and began lowering its altitude—an attack profile. All that was invented to justify the missile fire.

As late as 27th July last week Admiral Trost, the chief of naval operations, said that the shooting down of the plane was unequivocally the right thing to do. Now it appears that the right thing to do was a mistake.

The Pentagon's report on investigations into the incident is expected to be published in full in the middle of this month. Maybe it will disclose new facts, but what is already known today refutes virtually all the previous official statements and raises the issue of responsibility. Since a month ago almost 300 people were killed, and a civilian plane was destroyed due to human error. There is no guarantee that another error of this kind will not be made on the "Vincennes" or some other American warship cruising the Persian Gulf.

Reagan Reiterates Call for Aid to Contras

LD0408165188 Moscow TASS in English 1442 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Washington Aaugust 4 TASS—On Wednesday President Reagan again declared for the appropriation by the U.S. Congress of military aid to the Nicaraguan contras. Addressing a group of media executives the President strongly condemned the Nicaraguan Government for the pursuance of a repressive home policy, including the suppression of the freedom of the press, and claimed that it does not observe the Guatemala agreement on the peaceful settlement in Central America. It is "only strong pressure on the Sandinistas from Nicaragua's democratic resistance that offers any hope of keeping the compliance process alive," Reagan claimed.

The U.S. President reiterated his old allegations that Nicaragua creates "a threat of a potential chaos" in Central America all the way up to the Rio Grande, along which the border between the USA and Mexico runs. We know what the Sandinistas are and what threat to the region they constitute. I hope that the realisation of that will help towards reaching a new consensus on our policy, the President said.

Answering the questions, Reagan reaffirmed that he has always favoured and favours now military aid to the contras. He said that for the beginning it would be possible to supply the contras with military equipment worth 18 million dollars which is now in the depots. The Congress once approved the appropriations of the funds for the supply of these weapons, but banned the delivery of these weapons to the contras until new voting.

Congressional Moves Noted

PM0508104188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Aug 88 Second Edition p5

[Correspondent V. Gan article: "Counter to the Interests of Peace"]

[Text] Washington, 2 Aug—The Reagan administration has launched a new offensive against the U.S. Congress in an attempt to secure the renewal of U.S. military aid to the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries. The president's radio address last Saturday, which was interspersed with fine talk about "the cause of peace and freedom" in Central America—naturally "under threat" from the Sandinist government in Managua—has served as a direct "signal for battle."

Following the appeals from the White House, supporters of cash disbursements to the contra rebels have sharply stepped up their activity on Capitol Hill. In both houses of Congress there has been an emotional "tug-of-war" between those pushing for aid and those against it. Although it is still rather premature to say in which direction the legislators are inclined, the pressure brought to bear by the administration has already considerably shaken the opposition by causing an obvious split among its ranks.

In any case about 20 prominent Democratic senators led by R. Byrd, the majority leader, have been busy trying to push through their own draft bill, which is not likely to upset the White House if it does not manage to obtain approval of the Republican version. The only real difference between the two is the amount to be allocated, while the aims are the same: keeping the contra-CIA formations afloat. Whereas Byrd's plan proposes to "unfreeze" the $18 million already allocated by Congress in February but blocked during the Central American talks, the initiative from R. Dole, leader of the Republican minority, envisages the allocation of $20 million in military aid and $27 million for so-called "humanitarian" purposes. The situation forming in the House of Representatives also inspires some hope among the administration—a joint Republican-Democratic draft bill has been submitted that will give the anti-Sandinist rebels $30 million to buy arms and $27 million in economic aid.

There is no question that the administration is taking account of the obvious confusion among the Democrats regarding the conflict in Central America. Suffice it to say that there is not even unity between M. Dukakis and L. Bentsen, the official Democratic candidates for the presidency and vice presidency. For example, the governor of Massachusetts has again described aid to the contras as "an unlawful, bankrupt policy." Senator Bentsen, however, a long-standing supporter of aid to the contras, still refers to his own stand as "the dictates of conscience."

Commentary Views Murphy Mideast Tour

LD0408183688 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Aleksey Zlatorunskiy commentary]

[Text] Richard Murphy, U.S. assistant secretary of state for Middle East affairs, is beginning a new tour of the Middle East and intends to visit Israel, Egypt, Syria, and Jordan. It is noteworthy that little more than 6 weeks has passed since the last tour of the region by this senior U.S. diplomat. What motives does Richard Murphy have for revisiting the Middle East so soon?

In my opinion, there are two possible reasons. The first is a change in U.S. Mideast policy and the emergence of new proposals aimed at settling the Arab-Israeli conflict. The second reason is a change in the situation itself in the Middle East, which requires the U.S. Administration to adopt some decisions.

Regarding changes in U.S. Mideast policy, there is no basis for talking about new factors. A few days ago, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz restated that the current U.S. Administration does not intend to change its position toward the Palestinian resistance movement, especially the PLO. It is well known that the Palestinian issue is regarded as central to the Mideast question. It is meaningless to talk about settling the Arab-Israeli conflict without solving this matter.

At approximately the same time, the U.S. Congress adopted two resolutions regarding new exports of modern aircraft to Israel and the approval in principle of moving the U.S. Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

Lastly, a number of U.S. officials reemphasized the intention to preserve the military presence in the Gulf, even if the Iran-Iraq war ends, in order to put the United States in a strong position in this explosive region.

Therefore, it is logical to assume that this visit to the Middle East by Richard Murphy does not stem from changes in U.S. Mideast policy, but from changes to the situation during the past 6 weeks in the Middle and Near East.

What are these changes?

First of all, the prospects of an end to the Iran-Iraq conflict are now evident. The efforts of UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar and all the peace efforts have obtained results, and there are indications of an end to military activities as soon as possible, to be replaced by political talks which will ultimately lead to establishing peace in the Gulf.

It is clear that these changes, even if the U.S. Administration welcomes them, require drastic changes in its policies, which are based on force or the threat of force.

The situation in the Middle East also changed as a result of the Palestinian uprising, which is still continuing in the Arab occupied territories because of the Zionist principle of annexing the occupied territories and settling Israelis in them.

Moves for political negotiations with the Palestinians, especially the PLO, are intensifying in Israeli society on the eve of the election campaign. As for the Jordanian resolution to break with Palestinians from the West Bank, this has shocked the Israeli Administration, which was banking on using the Palestinian workers to drag Jordan into unilateral deals and the Israeli method of solving the Palestinian issue.

All issues, whether Israel likes it or not, henceforth will be resolved only with the PLO.

Finally, the positive changes taking place in the world, and the USSR's unfailing implementation of the Geneva accords for a political settlement in Afghanistan, have changed the positions of many countries toward the Soviet Union. This in particular is indicated by the signing of an agreement to establish diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Qatar.

All these changes present the U.S. Administration with quite a few complicated issues; if only Richard Murphy could solve them during his tour of the Middle East.

However, it seems that he will be able to see for himself that the times urgently require changes to be made in U.S. Mideast policies.

Gorbachev Replies to Soviet, U.S. Schoolchildren

PM0408130988 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jul 88 p 3

[Unnamed TASS correspondent report: "Computer Linkup"]

[Text] A group of American schoolchildren and their teachers from computer schools in the city of Oakland (state of California) is visiting the city of Troitsk near Moscow. For the last 3 weeks they have been working with their Soviet peers at the "Baytik" Soviet-American computer camp, getting acquainted with Moscow, Leningrad, and other cities in our country, and living with the families of their hospitable hosts. The visit by the American schoolchildren was made possible thanks to accords on developing ties between our two countries' young people reached during the summit meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President R. Reagan.

The participants in the Soviet-American camp sent a letter to M.S. and R.M. Gorbachev. They expressed their satisfaction with being given the opportunity to visit the Soviet Union and talked about their plans to broaden exchanges between the computer centers of Troitsk and Oakland.

In a reply letter, R.M. and M.S. Gorbachev thanked the participants in the Soviet-American camp for their warm, sincere letter. It is wonderful when schoolchildren and teachers from our countries meet, they went on to say in their reply. Children the world over easily find a common language—the language of childhood—and children who have a common interest will understand each other without interpreters. It is very symbolic that your common interest is linked with computers, they noted in the letter, as you are people of the 21st century, to whom the computer will be as common as the fountain pen is to us.

It is excellent that you understand that peoples and governments must live together in friendship. We very much like your idea of forming an international computer camp where children from different countries can study and relax. This camp could be the first of its kind in a new and wonderful venture. We would like children from other countries to be the masters of this camp and not guests.

R.M. and M.S. Gorbachev thanked them for the invitation to visit the Soviet-American computer camp and wished its participants happiness and success in their joint work.

On 31 July the American schoolchildren and their teachers will be returning to Oakland confident they will see their Soviet friends again this year, during their return visit to Oakland just before the new year.

China

'Joint Working Group' Analyzes Border Photography

LD0408152088 Moscow TASS in English 1420 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 4 TASS—Soviet and Chinese experts from the joint working group on aerial photography have held a meeting in Moscow within the framework of the talks on border issues between the government delegations from the two countries.

The experts analysed the joint work on photographing the eastern part of the Soviet-Chinese border in May-June and exchanged pictures already made.

Paper Comments on Cooperation, Border Trade

PM0408124388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Aug 88 p 4

[Report by PRAVDA special correspondent A. Krushinskiy: "Three Meetings in Harbin. Soviet-Chinese Cooperation Has Fine Prospects"]

[Text] Harbin-Moscow—"We are grateful to Soviet specialists. They helped us at all stages of the creation of our enterprise—from planning to launch," Zhao Bingxing, director of the Harbin Flax Combine, said at the beginning of our conversation. "Then ties with our Soviet colleagues were broken off. Now we are receiving specialists from the USSR again."

Harbin is the administrative center of Heilongjiang Province, which occupies the northeast corner of the PRC. With its 3.8 million inhabitants, it is one of the ten biggest PRC cities, but it appeared on the map comparatively recently and...not without Russia's participation—as a junction on the Chinese-Eastern Railroad, built with Russia's assistance at the beginning of the century. Hence sights that are "untypical" of China: the large Orthodox Church and examples of Russian timber architecture. A more recent monument is the 33-meter obelisk to Soviet soldiers on the railroad station square: Harbin was liberated from the Japanese in summer 1945, on the seventh day of the operation against the Kwantung grouping. Finally, a considerable proportion of the 200 industrial facilities constructed in China with USSR assistance in the fifties is situated here.

Naturally, people in Heilongjiang were greatly interested in the third session of the Soviet-Chinese Commission on Economic, Trade, and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, which was held in Beijing not long ago. It was held at a very high level: You will recall that the Soviet delegation was headed by Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the Chinese delegation was headed by Tian Jiyun, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and vice premier of the PRC State Council. The steps outlined to further activate cooperation, particularly those relating to contacts between border regions and the development of direct links on a territorial and production basis, have the most direct bearing on the area's life and prospects. People here are deeply interested in arranging links, and this is graphically confirmed by the flax combine.

It is one of the pioneers of cooperation between our countries, having started to produce back in 1952. Apparently a considerable amount of the original equipment is still operating. Modernization has been under way in recent years. Machinery has come from Romania, Hong Kong, and France. The USSR has now joined the "suppliers' club."

"What is it like, our new equipment?" I asked. "Are you happy with it?"

"The machine tools of the fifties were better made," Combine Chief Engineer Lu Yaxun frankly stated. "But the present ones are more advanced technologically. We appreciate having the latest flax-hackling machinery—we are aware that many Soviet enterprises are still waiting for it."

At the time the combine's shops were being constructed there were more than 100 Soviet specialists at it; now 3 are enough. When I arrived only Vyacheslav Konyashin from Orel remained.

Deliveries to the Harbin combine amount to 14.5 million Swiss francs. It is a considerable event for our machine builders: In fact, if the Harbin workers are satisfied, other cities will order the equipment, and the foothold in the major Chinese market will be a considerable victory in the competition with the big firms of many industrial powers. But they will have to be on the ball. The Chinese partners are very demanding: Indeed, the extensive development of their foreign ties gives them a wealth of choice....

I saw the fine prospects for Soviet-Chinese cooperation and the still considerable untapped reserves when I visited the Heilongjiang general company for the development of foreign trade.

According to office Deputy Chief Lu Shikun, border trade with the USSR resumed in 1983, when a delegation from Khabarovsk arrived in Harbin. But he considered that ties really took off after M.S. Gorbachev's famous Vladivostok speech the summer before last.

"Here is confirmation for you," he said. "In 1986 our trade turnover was 30 million Swiss francs. A year later it was 50 million, this year it is expected to be 70 million.

"The people of Heilongjiang are receiving cement, timber, rolled metal, galvanized sheets, roofing iron, wire, chemical fertilizers, compressors, refrigerators, pianos, and so on from their neighbors. Khabarovsk Kray and Amur Oblast are getting grain, soybeans, beef, pork, canned meat, knitwear, footwear, children's clothes, vacuum bottles, and automobile batteries....

"We have a mutually advantageous situation," my interlocutor continued. "The partners are supplying one another with goods they are short of.

"We engage in barter trade; that is, we exchange goods in equal amounts. There is no basis for exchange between the Chinese yuan and the Soviet ruble, there is no 'common denominator,' so to speak. Therefore, we use the Swiss franc as a means of payment. When making our calculations, we use prices that feature in our countries' interstate trade or world prices."

"What other problems are there?" I asked Lu Shikun.

Apparently the Soviet side has sometimes sent defective goods (but my interlocutor asked me "not to disclose" through the paper what goods he was talking about: God forbid that the partner should be offended—it would have a bad effect on business). In fact, the Far Easterners are rather short of goods to trade: The Heilongjiang people have started to look for more partners—among our all-union foreign trade associations (incidentally, this is now possible as a result of documents signed at the aforementioned Soviet-Chinese commission session).

An explanation is needed here. The boom in the development of foreign economic ties is a characteristic feature of economic life in China today. PRAVDA has written about the PRC's "open policy"—about the country's course toward developing foreign ties, about the 14 port cities which have become, as it were, "windows" onto the world economy, about the special economic zones set up along the seaboard, as well as the economic and technical development zones with various concessions for foreign capital investments. Thus part of the country has gained its "second wind," so to speak. Suffice it to say that only 8 percent of the Chinese population lives there, but it accounts for 25 percent of the gross product and 40 percent of export products! Naturally, the reform is being introduced more successfully there, and the living standard is improving more rapidly.

Recently regions in the interior also decided to join in the "open policy." This was discussed at the recent National People's Congress session by, in particular, deputies from Heilongjiang Province. After all, they argued, there are stocks of raw materials and many processing enterprises in the region. Its neighbor is the Soviet Union, a traditional partner with which, many people here believe, it is sometimes more advantageous to cooperate than with the capitalist powers (incidentally, there was criticism at the session of the unwarranted extravagance which manifests itself in purchases of expensive limousines and other luxury goods from Japan, the United States, and West European countries). The PRC Government was sympathetic: Although Harbin has not been placed fully on a par with the 14 coastal cities, it has received a number of privileges.

So the activity of the Heilongjiang general company for foreign trade is not simply a passing vogue. It is an important component of the plans to give the province a socioeconomic boost. The resources are available for this. It is larger than Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary put together. The province is seen as China's granary. There are industrial traditions, too: At the beginning of the century Harbin was one of China's chief centers of the formation of the foundations of industry. The people of Heilongjiang are implementing organizational measures to reinforce their desire to activate border trade. In Harbin, Mudanjiang, Heihe, and a number of other cities it is intended to construct new enterprises for the production of textiles and down products and the manufacture of garments—goods which are in high demand among the Soviet population. In other places it is intended to set up production of construction materials which the USSR is interested in. There will be specialized bases near the border producing and exporting vegetables, soybeans, and meat. Moreover, the privileges acquired by the province include the right to handle goods from other regions of the PRC (and not only goods produced on its own territory).

According to Lu Shikun, a number of projects is envisaged in collaboration with Soviet partners, involving the setting up of joint enterprises. Heilongjiang Province has expressed its willingness to participate in the construction of hotels and roads in the Soviet Far East....

Yang Sen, development department chief at the Harbin branch of China's foreign tourism agency, also displayed an active interest in the development of cooperation.

He spread out in front of me brochures in English and Japanese showing the city sights and complained that tourists are coming from the most remote parts of the world, but not from the neighboring USSR.

The partnership with the Soviet "Inturist" was restored at the beginning of the year and this is advantageous to the Chinese side, my interlocutor noted, because it promises an increase in the flow of travelers.

"There has been a practical solution," Yang Sen explained. "PRC and USSR airlines are now setting up a joint Khabarovsk-Harbin service. It will enable the Japanese to fly here via the Soviet Far East and then travel on to Shanghai and go home from there. The shortest route to us—via the USSR—will be opened up for visitors from Western Europe."

Yes, the development of comprehensive cooperation between the USSR and the PRC meets the vital interests of both countries. You can see this for yourself in Heilongjiang Province.

Embassy Holds PLA Anniversary Reception

PM0408133788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Aug 88 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "To Mark the Anniversary"]

[Text] Ning Wenyan, military attache at the PRC Embassy to the USSR, gave a reception 1 August to mark the 61st anniversary of China's People's Liberation Army [PLA]. The reception was attended by generals and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces, Soviet Army veterans, and representatives of the public.

PRC Ambassador to the USSR Yu Hongliang also attended the reception.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

U.S. Aid Plan for Philippines Arouses Debate

PM0408132988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own correspondent I. Kovalev: "According to Washington's Scenario"]

[Text] Manila—"A Well Disguised Trap" and "Don't Look a Gift Horse in the Mouth." These two different headlines adorn articles in local newspapers devoted to the so-called "mini-Marshall plan" for the Philippines.

This plan, which exists for the time being only in the political offices of Washington, has already seized the imagination of Philippine economists and politicians. Say what you like, the $10 billion which the Americans apparently intend to give to restore the Philippine economy is no mere trifle. Trial balloons have already gone up: The United States itself, with its multibillion-dollar budget deficit, does not have such resources. An international consortium which will include, in addition to the United States, Japan, a number of West European countries, international banks, and possibly ASEAN countries will be concerned with the aid. It is thought that the aid package will include subsidies, rescheduling of debts (the Philippines has $30 billion of debt), conversion of some of the external debt into capital investment in the country, concessions for Philippine exports, and loans.

All this is being done, according to Washington, for economic development with the aim of maintaining democracy in the Philippines. And the U.S. military bases, too, many commentators add, alluding thereby to the terms for the maintenance of these bases until 1991, when the treaty between the United States and the Philippines comes to an end. What happens then is not clear. The Filipinos are insisting on a sharp increase in the leasing payment for the bases, whereas the funds Washington is prepared to allocate for this are very limited, so some politicians and commentators see the "mini-plan" as a venture designed to gather a collective payment, as it were, for the bases from those countries that have an interest in a U.S. military presence in the Southeast Asia region. Say, from Japan or Taiwan, which have built up large foreign currency reserves.

The MANILA CHRONICLE, citing diplomats from the Japanese Embassy in the Philippines, reports that the Japanese do not object in principle to participating in the "mini-Marshall plan" if this will ensure the presence of U.S. bases on the Philippines.

Another opinion that is expressed is that if the Japanese assume a large share of the "mini-Marshall plan" they could, for example, demand that the Filipinos give their automotive companies large concessions in the country to increase their capital share in joint Philippine-Japanese enterprises, where, under the law, the foreigners' share is not supposed to exceed 40 percent.

There is, however, a substantial nuance in these assessments. Let us look at one comment by a Japanese diplomat: With or without the "mini-Marshall plan," we already provide great financial assistance to the Philippines (Japanese loans and credits total $1.2 billion, excluding private capital investment, which far exceeds this sum). The point of this statement is that it remains to be considered why Japan should participate in an American venture whose political dividends will accrue to Washington.

The ASEAN countries are responding to the appeal to participate in the plan without particular enthusiasm either. At a meeting Singaporean Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew and Thai Foreign Minister S. Savetsila supported the plan in principle. However, immediately after the meeting, the semiofficial BANGKOK POST wrote: "Before putting someone else's house in order, is it not better to pay attention to our own?"

Indonesia's JAKARTA POST, which also expresses the government position, was even franker in its assessment. An editorial said: "But why, one asks, pay so much attention to the economy of the Philippines, which can in no way be categorized as being exceptionally poor.

The Philippines does, of course, have many problems, but why single out the Philippines?" The newspaper gives its own answer: "The scenario is that the United States collects billions of dollars for the Philippines on the pretext of helping Philippine democracy to flourish, whereas in actual fact it is helping to maintain its military bases there." It could not be put more precisely.

The following comment by Philippine economist Vivencio Jose should, however, be added to complete the picture: "The devising of the 'mini-Marshall plan' shows that the United States is no longer able to finance its imperialist ambitions on its own, but that does not make it any easier for us. What we are being offered is the Philippine's conversion into a country in thrall to not one but several neocolonialists."

The debate surrounding the "mini-Marshall plan" shows no sign of abating.

Diverse Interests in Philippines Over U.S. Bases

PM0408133188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Aug 88 Second Edition p 5

[Leonid Kuznetsov "Viewpoint": "Who Needs the 'Hornets' Nests'?"]

[Text] News agency reports create the impression that the U.S. military bases in the Philippines are under siege and surrounded by hostile forces. As an eyewitness, I can confirm that this impression is correct. Numerous Philippine political and social organizations are demanding the removal of the Pentagon's "hornets' nests" so as to strengthen national sovereignty and serve the interests of peace in the Pacific. Churchmen and representatives of youth movements, cultural workers, and doctors link the removal of the bases with the solution of many national problems. Nevertheless, at present there is no sign that the U.S. airmen, infantrymen, and sailors are preparing to leave the Philippines.

The obvious question is: How is the Pentagon managing to withstand the onslaught by the majority of the Philippines population and ignore their will? Of course, it should be recalled that all the vast U.S. propaganda, intelligence, economic, and political apparatus in the Philippines is aimed at convincing the Filipinos of the "vital need" for the U.S. bases. In addition the United States is resorting to blackmail, threats, and often strong-arm methods.

In the Philippines itself there are quite a few forces who either secretly or openly support the retention of the bases. First and foremost they are traders and owners of firms serving the bases. Then there are dealers in the entertainment business, who have "mobilized" around 100,000 Philippine girls for the amusement of the U.S. soldiers. They include a section of the "working aristocracy" (around 70,000 Philippine citizens work at the U.S. military facilities) and figures from reactionary trade unions which prosper from the Pentagon's money. But the most important are the big businessmen and planters (the "sugar barons" are dominant here). And, finally, the bourgeois bureaucracy at virtually all levels. If the Americans leave, they will be deprived of their protectors. The fear of the stepping up of working people's actions and of social eruptions forces them to kowtow even more to the foreigners. Furthermore, it is clear that the country's already very grave economic situation may be worsened by the removal of the bases—after all, in their almost 100 years' existence in the archipelago the bases (proper industrial centers with repair plants, shipyards, workshops, and municipal services) have become integrated with its economic organism. The bases' departure may be very painful. Of course, if the ruling circles had already begun to prepare for the Americans' departure the after-effects of that "parting" would be less serious. But the authorities seem in no hurry to do that. Even the—very moderate—agrarian reform has ground to a halt. Those same "sugar barons" are loudly threatening to launch terror if even one step is taken toward reform. At the same time many of those who defend the "special" Philippines-American relations pose as patriots and pay lip service to opposition to the bases. This subterfuge tactic is encouraged by the Americans. Some people are even inclined to the conclusion that the entire nation is united and that if a referendum were held now the overwhelming majority of the Filipinos would oppose the bases.

However, it seems to me that in the present atmosphere a referendum would best suit the interests of...the Pentagon. Manila is being urged toward a referendum on the assumption that the right wing forces and the oligarchy will dupe the masses and do everything to ensure that the plebiscite's results are not those which patriots and the republic's honest citizens expect. In a country where politicians have gained vast experience in deceiving public opinion, where elections are often dominated by bribery, intimidation, and violence, and in conditions where gangs of religious fanatics created with the CIA's help are now flourishing, the results of the "referendum" may even "legalize" the presence of the bases.

The situation, as we can see, is contradictory. In addition, another new feature has appeared in it, namely that Washington is trying to legalize the presence of nuclear weapons at its bases in the Philippines. But as is well known, the Philippines constitution contains articles which prevent the "authorization" of nuclear weapons in the archipelago. But for the United States, bases without nuclear weapons are like a razor without a blade.

Consequently, even the most ardent supporters of the retention of the bases are beginning to feel alarmed for their safety and for the lives of their children and grandchildren. Even those who have become used to prospering in the shadow of the U.S. bases are beginning to wonder.

Tolstykh Receives SRV Science Official

PM0408134988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Developing Cooperation"]

[Text] On 3 August B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, received Dang Huu, chairman of the SRV State Commission for Science and Technology. Questions of further developing scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and the SRV were discussed.

Nguyen Manh Kam, SRV ambassador to the USSR, was present during the conversation.

Near East & South Asia

Shevardnadze Begins Visit to Afghanistan

Seen Off by Yakovlev

LD0408223888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 4 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, left Moscow for Kabul today on a working visit.

At the airport he was seen off by Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and by other officials. Included in the farewell party was Safi, Afghan ambassador to the Soviet Union. [video shows Shevardnadze, Yakovlev, and other persons leaving airport building and Shevardnadze shaking hands with Yakovlev before boarding plane]

Arrives in Kabul 4 Aug

LD0408230288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 4 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, arrived in Kabul today on a working visit. He was met by 'Abdul Wakil, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the National Democratic Party of Afghanistan and minister of foreign affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, and other officials.

The welcoming party included USSR Ambassador to Afghanistan Yegorychev. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers, also arrived with Comrade Shevardnadze. [video shows plane taxiing on runway, Afghan officials approaching and shaking hands with Shevardnadze]

Further on Iranian Minister Larijani Visit

Vorontsov Hosts Lunch

LD0408143188 Moscow TASS in English 1234 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 4 TASS—Yuliy Vorontsov, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR, today gave a luncheon in honour of Mohammad Javad Larijani, representative of the leadership of the Islamic Republic of Iran, deputy foreign minister. He is in Moscow on a brief visit.

Departs 4 Aug

LD0408174788 Moscow TASS in English 1742 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 4 TASS—Mohammad Larijani, representative of the leadership and deputy foreign minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, left Moscow today.

He was on a brief visit here.

Vorontsov Sees Off Pakistani Foreign Minister

LD0408193888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Pakistani Foreign Minister Yaqub Khan left Moscow for home today after staying in the Soviet Union on a brief working visit. He was seen off at the airport by Vorontsov, first deputy USSR minister of foreign affairs, and other officials. Amin, Pakistani ambassador to the Soviet Union, was also present.

Talks Viewed

BK0408155088 Islamabad Domestic Service in Urdu 1500 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan has exchanged views with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze on current international affairs and on the situation in the region following the Geneva accords. The foreign ministers of the two countries met yesterday in Moscow. They agreed that the Geneva accords are a historic event and that they created positive trends throughout the entire world, particularly in the Gulf and in Southeast Asia. The Geneva accords also paved the way for friendly and constructive relations between Pakistan and the Soviet Union. The two sides stated that they will abide by the Geneva agreement. They emphasized a sincere and strict implementation of the broader principles as provided in the accords.

The foreign ministers of the two countries reviewed the positive changes at the international level and said that these changes augur well for the creation of a more peaceful international atmosphere and the promotion of better relations between countries. In this context, they termed the INF Treaty and the improvement in East-West relation as very significant.

Addressing a luncheon in honor of Sahabzada Yaqub Khan, the Soviet foreign minister described his talks with the Pakistani foreign minister as very useful. He said there are good prospects for the development of relations between the two countries in the future. Sahabzada Yacub Khan also agreed with Shevardnadze's views and said that relations between the two countries will develop in the future on the basis of mutual trust.

Commentator Condemns Pakistani 'Terrorism'
LD0408134588 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Commentary by Aleksandr Pogodin]

[Text] The Geneva agreements on an Afghan settlement could have a practical meaning only if the parties involved comply with them honestly. This was stressed by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze when meeting in Moscow with Foreign Minister of Pakistan Yaqub Khan. Here is what a Radio Moscow commentator, Aleksandr Pogodin, writes:

The problem has been put this way because since the 15th of May, when the Geneva agreements went into force, the Pakistani leadership continued to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and to constantly and openly violate the commitments it took upon itself. Facts show that Islamabad is trying to undermine the agreements of an Afghan settlement practically in all fields. A crude violation of the agreements politically is the formation on the territory of Pakistan of a so-called transitional government of Afghanistan; and what's more, Islamabad states openly its intention to give assistance to it until it attains a military victory. And such a political course finds practical expression in the growing material and organizational support of the armed groups of the Afghan opposition.

Weapons and armed units of the opposition continue to be sent to Afghanistan from Pakistan with the help of the Pakistani Army; and all this is done on a large scale. Camps for training the armed units of the opposition continue to operate on the territory of Pakistan. The stepped-up rocket attacks on Afghanistan's cities and towns are also connected with the stand taken by Pakistan; and these attacks have resulted in hundreds of people, mainly women, children, and old men being killed, wounded or maimed. So, such support by Pakistan can be qualified only as government-sponsored terrorism.

Very important is the agreement on the voluntary return of the refugees signed by Pakistan and Afghanistan. Islamabad, however, not only fails to assist the process, but on the contrary uses force to prevent Afghan refugees from returning home.

The Pakistani minister was told in Moscow that this can't go on forever. It's quite intolerable when one of the sides complies with its commitments and while the other ignores and violates them. Eduard Shevardnadze pointed out that as a guarantor of the Geneva agreements, the Soviet Union will be compelled to consider taking such actions that would enable the agreements to play their role. The Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan will find what to do to offset the growing interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

Afghanistan Condemns Pakistani 'Interference'
LD0408212688 Moscow TASS in English 2111 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Kabul August 4 TASS—Pakistani President Ziaul Haq, in violation of the generally recognized international norms and Geneva accords, ventured when speaking about the Afghan Government to demand its resignation after the completion of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, a spokesman for the Foreign Affairs Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan said today. At a meeting with the editors of Pakistani newspapers the head of the Islamabad regime urged the journalists to step up the anti-Afghan propaganda campaign and stressed that Pakistan's policy, aimed against the Republic of Afghanistan, would undergo no changes. These statements by the Pakistani president cannot be described other than direct interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and a clear intention to continue war in the country, the spokesman pointed out. Thus Ziaul Haq repudiated the Geneva accords, which Pakistan itself signed, and dashed the hopes for a lasting peace in the region. The president made it clear that he was against establishing goodneighbourly relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan. However, the Afghan people, the spokesman stressed in conclusion, will never allow someone else's will to be imposed on them.

Pakistan-Israel Deal on Afghan Uranium Alleged
TA3107100388 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1630 GMT 30 Jul 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The public has discovered a new reason for Pakistan's violation of the Geneva convention: the smuggling of Afghan uranium required for implementing Pakistan's nuclear threat, and its sale to Israel. Not long ago, the media in Asia reported that Western experts, apparently including Israelis, infiltrated Afghan territory and discovered uranium mines in the Khajegan and Velayat-e Faryab regions. Uranium then began to be mined secretly and urgently, possibly without the knowledge of the Pakistani authorities, with only the participation of the Afghan opposition. Wrapped in special packaging, it is carried by camels through secret routes to certain addresses.

This strategic raw material, which was discovered in Darzab in Khajegan Province, is partially bound for factories in Pakistan which enrich the uranium, and partially for the Khomeyni regime. The uranium discovered in the Khajegan and Velayat-e Faryab regions is initially transported to transfer stations by opposition forces. There the connection to Afghanistan is cut. With

the aid of the Pakistani authorities, the uranium is transferred to Israel. The leaders of the opposition could be said to be paying with their blood for Islamabad's anti-Afghan policy. Until very recently, these leaders did not imagine that there was a secret deal between Pakistan and Israel. Israel received stolen Afghan uranium from Pakistan, and Islamabad received arms and experts for its undeclared war against Afghanistan, as well as assistance in implementing Ziaul Haq's nuclear plans, from Israel. A scandal broke out when Amir Akbar, one of the opposition leaders of Afghanistan's Pakistan Islamic Union, learned that the raw material mined in territory under his supervision was transferred to Dimona. Amir Akbar gathered the inhabitants of the surrounding villages and called for the expulsion of all foreigners from the mining area. The uranium production was stopped.

The ties between Israel and Pakistan began some time ago, aided by Washington, which provides money and arms to both Pakistan and Israel. These ties suited Washington's imperialist interests and enabled it to dictate its neocolonial policies toward the Muslim nations, Afghanistan, the Arabs, and Palestinians. The CIA allocated $100 million to Israel so that its special services would, on Pakistani soil, train terrorists and guerrillas among the Afghan opposition to carry out the undeclared war against the Afghan regime, to sabotage the national liberation movement in the Middle East. We have proof that people trained by Israeli experts participated in punitive actions in the Muslim quarter of Beirut and in the Palestinian refugee camps. As we now see, there is another reason for Islamabad to approve the Geneva convention, and that is uranium. [sentence as heard] These facts once again demonstrate the cynicism of the Pakistani authorities who refer to defending Islam and freedom in Afghanistan while making deals with Israel and increasing their involvement in sovereign Afghanistan in order to plunder its riches.

Gromov Details Pullout From Afghanistan

LD0408210788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan continues. There are no soldiers in Ghazni, Jalalabad, Gardez, Qalat, Baraki, or in Feyzabad. We drew up the timetable in such a way, said Lieutenant General Gromov, commander of the limited contingent of Soviet troops and a Hero of the Soviet Union, so that the Afghan Government could continue without damage to their cause of defending the homeland, and also to reveal the rebels' plans. The withdrawal of our combatants from Qandahar is now commencing in two directions: toward Herat and toward Kabul. Today the subunits are departing from Qandahar and Qonduz for home. The inhabitants of Kushka and Termez will welcome them on 11 August.

Unit Arrives in Tadzhikistan

LD0408164588 Moscow TASS in English 1550 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Kulyab August 4 TASS—Impressions about the send-off ceremony in Afghanistan still fresh in mind, the Soviet troops from a motorised infantry unit have arrived in this town in Tadzhikistan, Soviet Central Asia, to receive warm embraces from the local population.

As flowers were being thrown on the armour of the combat vehicles, the convoy ground to a stop for a traditional bread-and-salt welcome from the Kulyab residents.

After the meeting, the convoy moved on to the unit's permanent deployment area.

TV Shows Hideout of 'Gang' Shelling Kabul

LD0408182088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 4 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A large gang of extremists who were shelling the Afghan capital has been routed on the outskirts of Kabul. Here is a report from our correspondent A. Shkirando:

[Begin recording] [Shkirando] Here, just 20 km from Kabul, in an isolated mountainous region, was located a bridgehead of a gang belonging to the Islamic Party of Afghanistan, which is headed by Gulbuddin Hikmatyar. We arrived in this area when the operation had virtually been completed.

[Lieutenant Colonel V.A. Vostrotin, Hero of the Soviet Union] It was perfectly obvious that the gang included, as well as ordinary dushmans, servicemen of the Pakistani regular Army, and [word indistinct] voluntary advisors. Apart from the usual arms, they were armed with surface-to-surface missiles that had a range of 25 km. However, the gang has been completely annihilated thanks to the joint actions of the Afghan Army brigade and our subunits.

At the present moment—and we can guarantee this—there will be no more shelling of Kabul from this area.

[Shkirando] As a result of this operation, 77 Egyptian-made surface-to-surface rockets were disarmed, as well as a large quantity of British and Italian-made mines and other weapons. The only witness to the antihuman activities of this band is Nur Rahmad, a member of the people's militia, who was captured by the extremists and miraculously survived.

[Nur Rahmad, speaking in vernacular with superimposed Russian translation] All activities connected with the preparation of and the shelling of Kabul took place right before

my eyes. Egyptian advisors were administering these activities. The head of the gang sent his people to the capital in order to convince the inhabitants that it was Soviet troops who were carrying out the shelling.

[Shkirando] And so, an end has been put to the barbarous activities of yet another gang of irreconcilable extremists who have been sowing fear and panic among the inhabitants of the Afghan capital. [end recording]

Najibullah Addresses Joint Transport Company

LD0508001188 Moscow TASS in English 2247 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Kabul August 4 TASS—President Najibullah of Afghanistan, Prime Minister Muhammad Hasan Sharq and other members of the Afghan Government visited today Afsotr, an Afghan-Soviet transport joint-stock society. They laid flowers at the monument of Afsotr workers who had been killed when fulfilling their duty. After that the Afghan president addressed the labour collective of the joint-stock society.

Dwelling on the history of the creation of the transport service in the country, Najibullah said that fraternal Soviet Union had always rendered assistance to Afghan economy in general and to this sphere in particular. The creation in 1976 of Afsotr, a joint Soviet-Afghan company, was a major step on this way. For Afsotr workers Afghan-Soviet friendship is neither a slogan nor an appeal. It is an everyday reality to them.

The national democratic revolution in Afghanistan came up at once against the resistance of counterrevolution that was supported by the regional reactionary forces and imperialism. The war swept the country. Roads were turned into front lines. Mine explosions and shooting at mountain passes became an everyday occurence. In these conditions Afsotr workers became fighters for the revolution. Some 2,000 people were killed in the past five years in bandit attacks. The state took it upon itself to look after their widows and orphans, Najibullah said.

He pointed out the tremendous importance of the joint-stock society for the development of economy and for ensuring the supply of goods to the regions affected by the war. The president pointed out that the irreconcilable from the so-called "Alliance of the Seven" and the ruling circles of Pakistan hampered the restoration of the national economy. This is why, he continued, Afghanistan should defend itself. Najibullah said that the Armed Forces of the country were determined to deal strong blows at the enemies of peace after Soviet internationalist soldiers were withdrawn from Afghanistan. The latest combat operations in Qalat, Jalalabad and Ghazni show that it is not just words.

In conclusion Najibullah wished the Afsotr personnel success in their difficult work.

Daily Interviews Afghan Parliamentarian 'Abawi

PM0208143488 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jul 88 Second Edition p 7

[Special correspondent B. Kotov report from Kabul including interview with Wolosi Jirgah Chairman Khalil Ahmad 'Abawi: "Reconciliation Mechanism in Action"; date and place—PRAVDA does not always indicate where quoted passages begin and end, and which passages are Kotov and 'Abawi]

[Text] Kabul, July—You could pass this building any number of times and not pay the slightest bit of attention to it. A white, two-story—admittedly, impressively large—stone box with high windows, devoid of any architectural adornments and screened from the capital's noisy highway by an acacia hedge.

It is the Afghan parliament building, clearly affected by the breath of the decades that have passed over it. In this house, for want of any other, more solemn and prestigious building, the National Council of the Republic of Afghanistan, for the time being, has installed itself and is in operation. The nation's parliament, its fully competent master, was elected by secret ballot in general elections this spring in accordance with the democratic constitution of 1987. The National Council is one of the main components of the new state and political mechanism being set up in Afghanistan with the aim of putting into practice the policy of national reconciliation and restoring peace and tranquillity in the country.

The first session of the newly elected National Council lasted about 6 weeks, from May through July. But now it has ended. Khalil Ahmad 'Abawi, chairman of the Wolosi Jirgah (the lower chamber of parliament), shares his impressions with PRAVDA's correspondent:

"We worked productively and intensively. Judge for yourself. The session appointed a new government, slightly changing the structure of government institutions. It discussed the question of progress in fulfilling the Geneva agreements, voting unanimously to support them and to condemn Pakistan's violation of these agreements. We adopted a number of laws, including a law governing our own work; examined and ratified several decrees by the president of the Republic; passed a decision on appointing four deputy presidents; and asked the government to draft a law on wages for all categories of working people and to submit it by September, when the session resumes. Finally, we set up 14 parliamentary commissions to give a truly democratic character to the preparation of questions submitted for discussion."

Yes, they were real parliamentary debates, pithy, committed, sometimes stormy and heated, my interlocutor says animatedly. In formal terms, we have simply restored the country's parliament. However, in practice,

this is a fundamentally new organ of state power for Afghanistan, independent, free, and endowed with the people's trust. And multiparty.

You see, within these walls, a very broad spectrum of the country's political forces is represented: the PDPA, the other two parties of the left-democratic bloc, the People's Islamic Party, the Peasants Justice Party; all the country's mass public organizations that are united in the National Front. I represent the National Front, for instance, the Wolosi Jirgah chairman says.

The People's Democratic Party—by its own good-willed decision—now holds far from a monopoly position in the system of state power. In our chamber, it holds 76 seats out of the 184 representatives elected. Moreover, more than 30 deputies' seats are being kept vacant for representatives of the opposition.

Or take this fact, one that is from rather a different field, but one that is directly relevant to our conversation about the coalition power that is being formed in the country both centrally and locally: Yesterday's oppositionists have been appointed governors in 16 out of 30 provinces. That is another component of the mechanism of national reconciliation.

Here I remembered a story I was told by an Afghan colleague who was returning from Jalalabad, the administrative center of Nangarhar Province. With apparent surprise, he described the great prestige enjoyed among the local population by the recently appointed governor of the province, Wakil 'Azam, a nonparty person and a supporter of former King Zahir Shah who left the country when Daoud came to power in 1973. The governor has a splendid grasp of the situation in the province and is well up on military questions.

"The policy of bringing prominent nonparty figures to power has proved fully justified in Nangarhar," the Afghan journalist told me. "It is also important that these people have formed a kind of political buffer between the two opposing and seemingly irreconcilable forces, enabling the population to continue to hope that the problem of national reconciliation can indeed be resolved by peaceful, political means."

"Let me point out," the Wolosi Jirgah chairman continued, "that in the new government, 16 posts do not belong to the PDPA, including the post of prime minister. And do you know what a heated debate broke out in parliament on the government program? More than 150 deputies spoke! The debates lasted a whole week before the cabinet headed by Muhammad Hasan Sharq, a prominent statesman from the time before April, obtained a vote of confidence. A unanimous one, by the way. And, please note, a number of state posts have been reserved in the government for representatives of opposition parties and groupings. Does not all this open up real possibilities for creating a coalition government in the country on the broadest sociopolitical basis?"

The national reconciliation process involves first and foremost overcoming errors, excesses, and defects in big and small things. An increasingly active role is played in this by the press, especially the newspaper HAQIQAT-E ENQE-LAB-E SAWR, organ of the PDPA Central Committee. Criticism of the errors of the recent past, readers' opinions on a very broad range of political and current issues, angry letters to bureaucrats and idlers, bribe-takers and extortioners—all this is represented in its pages and meets with a profound response among the population.

So life takes its course. It is striving to return to normal. Despite all the intrigues, all the violations of the Geneva agreements, all the attempts by opposition forces and Islamabad to wreck the peace process and spin out the bloody conflict. Practically every night lethal rockets fall on Kabul. And one cannot always sleep...

Commentator on Ties With Middle East States

LD0408192488 Moscow TASS in English 1754 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 4 TASS—TASS commentator Viktor Lebedev writes:

The establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Qatar is an important and logical result of the development of a fruitful political dialogue between the Soviet Union and Persian Gulf states in the new political conditions that are taking shape in the international arena.

Moscow makes no secret of its interest in the expansion of contacts with Arab capitals, including in eastern (?areas) of the Arabian Peninsula. Countries of the region also attach due importance to ties with the Soviet Union.

The example of Kuwait, the first state in the Arabian Peninsula with a traditional form of government that established diplomatic relations with the USSR 25 years ago showed that ties with the USSR were important and useful, both in the interests of the consolidation of national sovereignty and for the solution of regional and international problems.

Political contacts of Soviet and Saudi officials have become more active of late. There is no diplomatic exchange between the two countries, although some 60 years have elapsed since their mutual recognition. The fresh winds of changes and rejuvenation is sweeping away these days prejudices and obsolete stereotypes. Principles of a new political thinking and realism are taking root in international relations.

The relations between the Soviet Union and the United Arab Emirates are developing successfully. A Soviet embassy opened in the Sultanate of Oman. Now Qatar established normal interstate relations with the USSR based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, equality and mutual respect. This paves the way to the development of economic cooperation and political interaction

of the two countries and creates conditions for joint efforts aimed at the improvement of the world climate and the settlement of the situation in the region.

It is gratifying that the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Qatar described by the Doha press as an outstanding event, an important and wise step in line with the call of time, was met with a favourable response in Arab capitals.

Delegation Returns From Tunisian Congress

PM0408135188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Aug 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "CPSU Representatives Depart"]

[Text] Tunis, 3 Aug—A delegation of CPSU representatives comprising A.A. Belyayev (delegation head), member of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission and chief editor of the CPSU Central Committee newspaper SOVETSKAYA KULTURA; and A.I. Kuzmin, executive of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, left Tunis for Moscow today after taking part in the work of the extraordinary congress of the Constitutional Democratic Rally.

The CPSU representatives arrived in Moscow today.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Commentary Views Gorbachev, Mengistu Talks

EA0408172388 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Vladimir Petrov commentary]

[Text] The Ethiopian leader's visit to Moscow was a (?working visit). During their talks, the two leaders made an extensive analysis of international problems and bilateral relations. As usual, the stance taken, and the outlook of the two sides on these issues and other matters, were similar. Their positions at international forums were the same. Their efforts centered on the establishment of international relations based on cooperation, defusing tension, and the reduction of arms for the sake of security and development.

Ethiopia supports the USSR's peace proposals. Ethiopian society supports the concrete and lasting ideas continually being put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev on making the Mediterranean Sea and the Middle East a peace zone, and curbing U.S. military maneuvers in the Gulf region. It was stated during the talks that the Soviet leadership had carefully noted the great problems facing the Ethiopian people. Among those cited were the problem of secessionism in the northern part of the country, and the problem in the Horn of Africa in general.

Mikhail Gorbachev reaffirmed that the USSR unservingly supports Ethiopia's territorial integrity and sovereignty. According to the Soviet leader, the Eritrean problem should be solved under the strength of the Ethiopian Government, which comprises many nationalities. [sentence as heard] This attitude has attracted the attention of the world's mass media. Its basic idea is that the Ethiopian problem needs a timely and concrete solution.

The two leaders, Mikhail Gorbachev and Mengistu Haile Mariam, also had a wide-ranging exchange of views on other important African issues. Among those to which prime attention was given was the long-standing problem of the Horn of Africa. It was stated that the USSR supports the peace agreement reached between Ethiopia and Somalia. Mikhail Gorbachev gave the assurance that the USSR will do everything possible toward strengthening the agreement. He also expressed the USSR's readiness to promote an agreement between Ethiopia and Sudan.

An understanding was reached that regional conflicts should be solved through peaceful means only. This has already begun in Afghanistan and is also gaining strength in other areas, including the African Continent. Since Libya has recognized the Chadian Government, the Chadian problem is being solved. In the southern Africa region, political changes are being made. The drawing-up of basic directives by Angola, the Republic of South Africa, Cuba, and the United States to solve the South-West Africa problem is supported. An agreement has been reached to grant Namibia its independence in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 435. The troops of the Republic of South Africa, which have occupied Namibia, should withdrawn from the country.

Cuban troops will also withdraw from Angola step-by-step on the basis of the agreement reached between Angola and Cuba. It is also planned that a new round of talks will be held at the beginning of August. It is true that there are still problems. It is very necessary to have patience and goodwill, so that the problems can be solved. Since ways to solve the problems through political means are being opened up, it cannot be said that progress will be slow.

U.S. Aid to Somalia Complicates Peace Process

EA0408170488 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Aleksandr Nikharochev commentary]

[Text] A new and important situation in the Horn of Africa came about after the signing of documents on the historic agreement between Ethiopia and Somalia in Mogadishu last April. Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, sent his envoy to Addis Ababa and Mogadishu after the signing of the agreement. The Soviet people are pleased that the people of Ethiopia and Somalia have resolved the hostility and tension which existed between them for over 10 years and that they have decided to march forward on the basis of good-neighborliness and mutual cooperation.

Moscow supports the agreement reached between Ethiopia and Somalia, and not only on the basis of the principle of struggle for peace as in other parts of the world. It is known that the USSR has long-standing, firm, friendly relations, and cooperation with Ethiopia. Likewise, between the USSR and Somalia there had been good relations earlier. It was saddening to see that two countries friendly to the USSR were enemies, causing damage to each other.

Regional conflicts are registered alongside great international events. The small fires set up in the regions could change into big and dangerous flareups. Therefore, we view with joy the peaceful reconstruction which has begun in the Horn of Africa.

In a recent PRAVDA interview with Somali leader Mohamad Siad Barre, the latter underlined his country's peace-loving foreign policy. However, it is difficult to measure the future situation against the present process. The reason we say this is because we have a cause for concern. That is the military cooperation between the United States and Somalia which has been implemented since 1980. Moreover, at a particular time, when the peaceful process in the Horn of Africa has reached a higher stage, Washington has disclosed its decision to continue supplying arms in the form of assistance. Why does this happen? Are they yearning for earlier times? Is it meant to disrupt the good relations established between Somalia and Ethiopia? Whatever it is, Washington's attempt at this time cannot be seen in isolation from provocative acts.

The position of the USSR, today and tomorrow, is the same. Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze has told his Ethiopian counterpart, Berhanu Bayeh, the following, we quote: The USSR is ready to continue giving every possible assistance so that peace and good-neighborliness can prevail in the Horn of Africa. If anyone is concerned about the plight of the peoples of the two countries, he should not have a different stand.

South Africa Obstructing Quadripartite Talks

LD0508004688 Moscow in Portuguese to Africa 1830 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Vladimir Grigoryev commentary]

[Text] The last day of the quadripartite talks between the representatives of Angola, Cuba, South Africa, and the United States on settling the situation in southwestern Africa is 3 August [as heard]. This is what our commentator Vladimir Grigoryev writes:

We do not yet know the final text of the official communique. However, judging from everything the great hopes which not only the Angolans and Namibians, but also many other peoples, are pinning on Geneva do not appear to be justified for the time being. The reason for this are the so-called new proposals by South Africa, Vladimir Grigoryev writes.

On the eve of the talks South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha said significantly that the participants in the talks are merely at the foot of the mountain and that the ascent would be difficult. The Swiss weekly L'HEBDO reacted immediately to this statement, considering it to be an allusion to a possible holding-up of the talks by Pretoria. It seems that this is what is really happening. On the opening day of the talks, Botha delivered his new proposals to the Angolan and Cuban representatives and only an hour later released them at a press conference. I call attention to the South African minister's unethical behavior which was also pointed out by the Angolans and Cubans. By mutual agreement the talks are to be held behind closed doors, and none of the parties has the right to divulge their contents except through official communiques.

Botha violated this agreement, but this is not the most important point. The main thing is that in the view of many people—and not only the Angolans and Cubans—the so-called proposals by South Africa are absurd and unrealistic. Furthermore, I would say, Vladimir Grigoryev continues, Botha's declaration is a departure from the fundamental theses of the principles for a peaceful solution in southwestern Africa. However, this document was signed by the representatives of the very same four countries only 3 weeks ago.

What does South Africa propose? Essentially it can be summarized as follows: an end to military operations by the sides in the conflict in southern Angola beginning 10 August; the South Africans undertake to withdraw their troops from the Angolan regions occupied by them by 1 September; and the withdrawal of all their military from Namibia over 7 months beginning 1 November. This would allow free general elections in Namibia on 1 June of next year under UN auspices.

Everything seems fine, but this is only one facet of the proposals, and it has nothing in common with the other facet. South Africa is ready to carry out the first part, but only under certain conditions. First, all Cuban troops should withdraw from Angola by 1 June next year. Second, the so-called ANC [African National Congress] military bases in Angola should be dismantled. In the words of Angolan Deputy Foreign Minister Venancio de Moura, who spoke yesterday at a press conference in Geneva, Pretoria's new proposals contradict the principles for a solution to the region's problems. The Angolans and Cubans made a statement saying that South Africa is trying to revive the dead idea of so-called linkage of the decolonization of Namibia to the issue of Cuban troops in Angola. Setting the date for their total withdrawal is nothing but pressure applied as always by Pretoria.

This is not only the opinion of the Angolans and Cubans, who are parties involved in the talks, but we cite the opinion of the prestigious British newspaper FINANCIAL TIMES. The newspaper justifiably says that the Cubans should stay in the region for at least 2 more years

in view of the threat posed by UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]. The Cuban presence, the newspaper points out, would to a certain extent help to neutralize South Africa's influence in Namibia until the new government strengthens its positions there.

Another British newspaper THE INDEPENDENT seriously doubts South Africa's sincerity with regard to its willingness to withdraw from Namibia. In THE INDEPENDENT'S view, Pretoria's main aim is to put the participants in the talks on the defensive.

I cannot resist criticizing another statement by Botha on the ANC bases. It is known that there are no ANC bases in Angola. There are only South African refugees there, including ANC representatives. The Angolan leadership has repeatedly declared their internationalist support for the freedom fighters.

Burkinabe Leader Greeted on Anniversary

PM0408134388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Aug 88 Second Edition p 1

[Soviet party and Government message to Burkinabe leader]

[Text] To B. Compaore, chairman of the Popular Front, head of State, and head of Government of Burkina Faso

We cordially congratulate the Popular Front, the Government, and the friendly people of Burkina Faso on the 5th anniversary of the August Revolution and wish them success on their chosen path of national development.

The events of August 1983 began a new page in Burkina Faso's history. Soviet people have been following with sympathy the efforts of the Burkinabe patriots aimed at strengthening political independence and achieving the economic autonomy of the country and ensuring its movement along the path of social progress.

The Soviet Union values the relations of friendship and cooperation with Burkina Faso, which have developed appreciably in recent years. We note with satisfaction the community of the approaches of the USSR and Burkina Faso to such urgent present-day problems as the elimination of the threat of nuclear war, the cessation of the arms race, the eradication of colonialism, racism, and apartheid, and the establishment of a new international economic order.

We express confidence that the ties between our countries and between the CPSU and the Popular Front will develop and strengthen for the good of the Soviet and Burkinabe peoples and in the interests of peace and progress.

CPSU Central Committee

USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

USSR Council of Ministers

East Europe

Polish Newspaper Publishes Khrushchev Report

PM0408140888 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Aug 88 p 9

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Notes": "32 Years On"]

[Text] "Everyone knew about it, and no one knew about it. It was kept in family archives and every new generation read it," the Polish weekly POLITYKA says of N.S. Khrushchev's report at the closed session of the 20th congress and its dissemination in Poland. Immediately after the party forum it was translated into Polish, and broad circles of the public learned about its content. It seems, the authors of the article, Z. Rykowski and W. Wladyka, write, that "the printing plants even printed an additional run of the pamphlet," whose text later became known to the whole world. At party meetings where it was read out, there were heated debates that lasted late into the night. It shocked people. It is hard to imagine, the weekly stresses, that the report was disseminated in Poland without Khrushchev's knowledge and consent. Some 6 weeks after the congress, on 10 April, the PZPR Central Committee Secretariat decided to restrict its dissemination. It was decided to make it available only to members of party bodies and secretaries of primary organizations. However, as the authors of the article note, after the events of October 1956 the report was shut up in the archives for a long time.

The Poles have been given the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the full text of N.S. Khrushchev's report to the 20th CPSU Congress "On the Personality Cult and Its Consequences" 32 years later. The surviving copy of it, number 2094, which is to this day the only official version of this historic document, was published in Poland on 30 July by the newspaper POLITYKA.

LCY Plenum Discusses Kosovo Situation

PM0408140688 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "LCY Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Jul—The normalization of the situation in the autonomous province of Kosovo was the main item on the agenda at the LCY plenum.

A report was delivered by F. Setinc, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. He stated, in particular: The first results have been achieved in fulfilling party decisions on stabilizing the situation in the province. They are politically important, since they confirm that the problems can be resolved. Nonetheless we cannot be

satisfied with the situation in Kosovo, because the emigration of citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality under pressure from Albanian nationalists continues, and relations between nationalities are deteriorating.

The present trends toward national isolation cannot be allowed to develop into mutual conflicts or into a situation where peoples and ethnic groups put pressure on each other, since that would have disastrous consequences on a wider scale in this part of Europe. Therefore, our responsibility for Yugoslavia's inviolability, territorial integrity, and sovereignty becomes a responsibility for peace in the region.

In 1987 the internal affairs organs unmasked five illegal groups of Albanian nationalists and separatists. A total of 70 criminal cases and 404 cases of misdemeanors have been brought for illegal and other activity.

Noting the responsibility of the more than 100,000 members of the League of Communists of Kosovo for the situation in the province, the speaker stated that while the state of national disunity and feelings of fear and danger persist, it will not only remain a real political problem, it will threaten our whole country.

Rallies of people on a national basis, public protests, mass marches to other cities, and various types of undemocratic pressure are the wrong way to resolve the accumulated problems. This path leads only to the exacerbation of the situation, and that is fraught with danger on a tragic scale. The main thing is to overcome the problems that are causing dissatisfaction. All our efforts must be channeled into fulfilling this task and at the same time adopting every political measure to create the conditions for the joint life of people of different nationalities, rather than deepening the gulf between them. In this context we should emphasize more resolutely the responsibility of the organizers of various meetings and rallies for their content. Whoever oversteps the limit of responsibility wishes our society no good, and if there are LCY members among such people, there is no place for them in the party.

We dare not allow different yardsticks to be used for nationalism, so that manifestations of nationalism by different nations and ethnic groups are assessed as more or less dangerous, primary or secondary, cause or effect.

Radical changes are needed in Kosovo's economic structure with a view to eliminating irrationality and inefficiency, which result in substantial resources being wasted. A more efficient model is needed to prevent the repetition of the old mistakes. Good production programs, knowledge, and cadres are needed more than money.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium, preparing for this plenum, self-critically discussed its own share of responsibility for slowness in overcoming national isolation, which has recently become marked even in certain organizations and leading organs of the LCY.

S. Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, who spoke to conclude the plenum's work, said: People in Yugoslavia are well aware that everything that is happening in Kosovo, not only politically but also socially and morally, is the most complex question and the greatest test of the country's stability and territorial integrity and the present and future of socialism in the country. It should be understood that everyone in Yugoslavia is waging a struggle not only for Kosovo, but also a struggle in Kosovo for Yugoslavia.

The plenum approved the Communists' immediate tasks in implementing the LCY decisions on Kosovo.

West Europe

Lawyer Explains Decision To Release Rust

PM0408121188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with V. Andreyev, state counselor of justice, 2d class, and member of the USSR Prosecutor's Office Collegium, by R. Ignatyev under general heading "In the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium"; date and place not given—first two paragraphs are IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has decreed that the remainder of the sentence of 4 years' imprisonment passed against FRG citizen Mathias Rust by the USSR Supreme Court's Judicial Collegium for Criminal Cases on 4 September 1987 be remitted, and that he be expelled from USSR territory.

IZVESTIYA's correspondent asked V. Andreyev, state counselor of justice, 2d class, and member of the USSR Prosecutor's Office Collegium, to comment on this decision.

[Andreyev] Everyone of course recalls that FRG citizen Mathias Rust was detained in Moscow on 28 May 1987. Let me clarify once again what he was charged with and what he actually did.

First of all, Rust illegally crossed the Soviet Union's border in the region of the Gulf of Finland and then the coastline not far from the city of Kokhtla-Yarve in the Estonian SSR. It was established that he had taken off from Malmi Airport (Helsinki) and, having obtained permission to fly to Sweden, deliberately changed course, switched off his radio, broke off contact with the ground, and took a route to the USSR....

On entering our territory he did not use the special flight paths which are well known to all countries. These routes were also marked on the map which was found in Rust's possession. Nonetheless, the flier in his light Cessna

aircraft took the paths followed by passenger airliners. He thus ran the risk of possibly colliding with other aircraft. Apart from all else, Rust recklessly crossed flight paths allocated to medical and agricultural aviation. As he approached Sheremetevo Airport, he also jeopardized aircraft which were taking off or approaching to land at that time. Liners of the FRG airline were among them. Rust thus broke the international flight rules. A crash was avoided only by a miracle....

Finally, he committed malicious hooliganism. Regardless of the fact that all flights over Moscow are banned, the "sportsman" steered his craft straight for Red Square. Flying at an intolerably low altitude (7-8 meters), the pilot attempted to land. He switched on his landing lights. People were alarmed, as witnesses subsequently testified in court. There was a large crowd in the square at that time, including women and children. Just one wrong move by the pilot could have resulted in an accident! Totally innocent people would have died. Following his unsuccessful attempt, he circled around the Kremlin and again attempted to land. In vain. He tried again and again until he eventually managed to land his craft next to Red Square....

FRG citizen Mathias Rust faced the court charged with all this. The trial was open. Foreign correspondents and the accused's relatives—his mother, father, and brother—were invited to attend. Rust was assigned a Soviet defense lawyer. What he had done is punishable by law in all civilized states. Rust sincerely admitted his guilt.

The court sentenced Mathias Rust to 4 years' imprisonment to be spent in a colony. I met him ar d talked with him on several occasions in my line of duty. He sincerely regretted what he had done. On one occasion he even stated that, once he had served his sentence, he would definitely visit the Soviet Union as a tourist to get to know our country. As a matter of fact, there were no complaints from Rust during the period of over 1 year he spent in detention. He was allowed to have regular meetings with relatives, friends, and embassy representatives. He was able to read newspapers, journals, and books. There were no complaints regarding medical services or food. He established normal relations with the other detainees.

And now we have the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree releasing him ahead of time. This was not done because Rust was found innocent or because he is a foreigner who has acquired worldwide fame thanks to his exploit. We took this humanitarian step because Rust has fully realized his guilt. We commit acts of mercy toward our convicts provided they repent. Quite a few similar examples can be cited. [Andreyev ends]

A representative of the USSR Prosecutor's Office went to see Rust yesterday at 1545 hours Moscow time. He informed him of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree. Rust was immediately released. He was transported to the FRG Embassy. Some time later he left USSR territory. [boldface as published]

FRG's Genscher Interviewed on Joint Relations

LD0408201988 Moscow TASS in English 2006 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Bonn August 4 TASS—The FRG and the Soviet Union, the relations with which are of cardinal importance for the Federal Republic, bear a great responsibility for the future of Europe. The Soviet leadership shows readiness for cooperation in every area, and this historic chance should be used in full measure.

FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said this today in an interview to Deutsche Welle radio station.

He declared for discarding the "image of the enemy", for the readiness to implement "bold projects for the creation of peaceful European order" or a common European home so that Europe should set an example of peaceful coexistence of peoples, and also of different political and social systems.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher said that the Soviet leadership is seriously engaged in working out and making important reforms in the state and society and practices new thinking in the foreign policy, which was reflected in the talks on disarmament, in the decision to withdraw troops from Afghanistan. In the opinion of Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the Soviet Union will now concentrate on the implementation of the economic reforms in a greater degree than earlier.

The minister declared for the development of broad economic, scientific and technological cooperation with the Soviet Union. The head of the FRG Foreign Policy Department also declared for a revision and considerable reduction of the lists of goods and technologies which the Coordinating Committee on Exports Controls (Cocom) prohibits to be exported to socialist countries. He emphasized that the restrictions contained in these lists are not in keeping with the present political landscape.

FRG's Minister Kiechle Satisfied With Visit

LD0408210388 Moscow TASS in English 2051 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Bonn August 4 TASS—Ignaz Kiechle, the minister of food, agriculture and forestry of the Federal Republic of Germany, expressed profound satisfaction with the results of his recent visit to the Soviet Union. Speaking at a press conference in Bonn, he stressed that the USSR was displaying much interest in developing comprehensive cooperation with the Federal Republic of Germany in the field of agriculture. The minister favoured extending contacts with the USSR. He said that in the course of the talks with the Soviet partners he discussed, in particular, the possibilities of creating joint ventures.

The press service of the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Forestry pointed out in an announcement it released here that during Ignaz Kiechle's visit to the USSR the need was stressed to step up cooperation of the two countries in the field of agriculture, in the agro-industrial sphere, to extend exchange of expertise. All this would help build mutual trust between the states, the announcement said.

One of the new forms of Soviet-West German cooperation in agriculture would be an exchange of specialists in that field. According to Kurt Eisenkraemer, a state secretary of the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Forestry, the first such exchange will be held next year.

Yazov Meets With Finnish Defense Force Commander
PM0408125588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Aug 88 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "On Official Visit"]

[Text] On 2 August Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, received General J. Valtanen, commander in chief of the Finnish Defense Forces, who is in the USSR on an official visit. A talk took place on questions of mutual interest. Taking part in the talk were: on the Soviet side, Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev; and on the Finnish side H. Talvitie, Finnish ambassador to the USSR.

Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev also had a meeting with General J. Valtanen.

Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev gave a luncheon in honor of General J. Valtanen. The guest from Finland laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Kremlin wall. The wreath laying ceremony was attended by Army General K.A. Kochetov, commander of the Moscow Military District.

On 3 August General J. Valtanen, commander in chief of the Finnish Defense Forces, who is in the Soviet Union on an official visit, and Marshal of the Soviet Union S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and USSR first deputy defense minister, visited the USSR Armed Forces General Staff K.Ye. Voroshilov Military Academy. The guest from Finland was familiarized with the organization of the training process. Explanations were given by the academy's chief, Army General G.I. Salmanov.

On the same day General J. Valtanen visited an Air Force garrison in Kubinka. The guest from Finland was familiarized with the Soviet airmen's combat equipment and daily training routine. Aviation Colonel B.F. Korolkov, first deputy commander in chief of the Air Force, met with General J. Valtanen and gave explanations.

Latin America & Caribbean

Expert on 'Setback' for U.S. in Central America
LD0408105188 Moscow TASS in English 1005 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 4 TASS—The outcome of the negotiations between the foreign ministers of four Central American countries and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz held in the capital of Guatemala bears out that the attempt by U.S. diplomacy to push through the idea of power pressure on Nicaragua was a setback, Yuriy Pavlov, expert on problems of Latin America of the USSR Foreign Ministry, believes.

Despite all efforts by the U.S. secretary of state, the attempts to force its partners to adopt the American draft of the document failed. This document would actually reverse the shaped process of settlement in Central America and set the countries in the region back to confrontation that reigned there until August 1987.

By signing the document on ways to establish durable and lasting peace in Central America in Guatemala a year ago, the leaders of Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador and Nicaragua opened a new page in their relationships, Pavlov said in an interview with a TASS diplomatic correspondent.

The significance of the Guatemala accords is in asserting the need for joint constructive actions in the quest for peaceful settlement to replace the policy of confrontation. The parties to the Guatemalan agreements succeeded a year ago in putting the goals of restoring and preserving peace above their political interests. At that time, this caused displeasure in Washington whose policy in Central America is built on the bid to isolate the revolutionary Sandinist regime, to strangle it with the help of states neighbouring on Nicaragua.

During the time the Guatemalan accords have been in effect, the Nicaraguan Government attained the greatest successes in their implementation. It is exactly in Nicaragua that an interim ceasefire agreement was reached and the negotiations began between the government and the armed opposition forces on the terms for a final cease-fire.

Therefore, the absurdity of Washington's attempts to put the main blame for insufficient progress in the implementation of the Guatemalan agreements on Nicaragua was evident from the outset. The American proposition on the need for military pressure on Nicaragua did not receive support, which hampers the implementation of the plan to resume military aid to the contras, which has been harbored by the White House for a long time.

The process of the quest for peaceful settlement in Central America, which began as a result of the efforts by the Contadora Group countries and was sealed in the Guatemalan agreements, is continued despite all

attempts by Washington to thwart it and revert to power diplomacy methods. Only yesterday, Wednesday, at a meeting with a group of mass media senior executives U.S. President Reagan declared for the U.S. Congress to appropriate funds in military aid to the contras.

As for the quest for peaceful settlement, the continuation of this process presupposes the involvement in it of all parties concerned without exception. By the way, this was noted also by some participants in the meeting in Guatemala, who spoke out in favour of Nicaragua's involvement in such meetings in the future.

Nicaragua Protests Contra Attack to U.S.

LD0508062588 Moscow TASS in English 0620 GMT 5 Aug 88

[Text] Managua August 5 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Kurguzov:

The Nicaraguan Government has expressed a strong protest to the U.S. Administration over a fresh armed attack by the contras against the passenger ship, in which two Nicaraguans were killed and 27 persons were injured, including foreign citizens.

The launching of that act of terrorism, says the note issued here by the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry, has coincided with the tour of Latin America by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, who is trying to draw the Central American nations into an anti-Nicaraguan coalition. The provocation staged by the contras is more than a violation of the temporary halting of offensive actions, since the targets of the attack were peaceful people. The Foreign Ministry of the Republic has accused the Reagan administration of genocide against the Nicaraguan people, which is the consequence of Washington's aggressive policy vis-a-vis Nicaragua.

The other day the White House refused to recognize Nicaragua's claim lodged with the U.N. International Court providing for a compensation for the damage done to the Republic as a result of the military and economic aggression. Washington's actions are evidence that the USA continues disregarding the basic norms of international law and relations between states. In view of that the government of the Republic has urged the U.S. Administration to contribute towards a search for a peaceful settlement of the Central American crisis and honor international law. Notwithstanding the continuing U.S. policy of state-sponsored terrorism vis-a-vis the Sandinist revolution, Nicaragua will uphold her inalianable right to independence and self-determination, the note says.

As a press-conference here was told by Alejandro Bendana, secretary general of the Foreign Ministry, the fresh provocation of the contras is a result of the massive military aid to the mercenaries by the USA. By these acts of terrorism the CIA is trying to convince the Congress of the need for continuing the funding of the contras, who are allegedly capable of waging effective combat operations against the revolutionary government. The intention of the U.S. Administration to appropriate additional funds to the Somozist elements is in conflict with the peace-making efforts of the Central American nations within the framework of the Guatemala agreements and accords reached in Sapoa between the Nicaraguan Government and the leadership of the counter-revolution, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Daily Assesses Current Nicaraguan Situation

PM0408154988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Aug 88 First Edition p 4

[Report for PRAVDA by APN correspondent A. Korzin: "When Will the War End? Difficult Days for Nicaragua"]

[Text] "Well, it's cheap by current standards, sir," Armando, well-known fruit seller at the "Roberto Huembes" market shrugged his shoulders in response to my bewilderment at the way prices had leaped in a few days.

People often stop by his stall, laden with pineapples, papayas, and other tropical fruit, exchange a few words with the proprietor, make tutting noises, and continue along the endless rows of food stalls in the hope of finding something cheaper elsewhere.

"If I lower the price I'll be making a loss," the old man grumbled. A young man—a cripple with a scarred face, two fingers missing from his right hand—hobbles past, looking hard at passersby. Judging by his military camouflage uniform without shoulder boards, he had recently been demobilized. A wooden tray suspended from his neck and resting on his chest contained crudely made articles, cigarettes, chewing gum, and cheap cigarette lighters. Hordes of barefoot children, barely reaching the shoppers' waists, combed the market advertising their wares—homemade candy, iced water, bars of soap, knickknacks. The war has brought widows and orphans to the market, begging for help. The market is a reflection of the problems Nicaraguans face daily: inflation, rising prices, and pay that does not keep pace.

It is the 10th year of the revolution in Nicaragua, and none of them has been easy. There were the impressive economic and social programs of the years immediately after the victory of 19 July 1979—and the U.S. undeclared war, which prevented their full implementation. The proclaimed principles of pluralism and mixed economy—and the blunders in implementing them. Direct contacts between the country's leaders and working people—and bureaucratism and corruption in state institutions. The need to expand exports and new investments—and the trade embargo by the United States, trying to cut Nicaragua off from foreign credits. Not a single year, not a single month and day has allowed the people of this country to forget that they have to get their bread through sweat and blood.

The fact that the situation in Nicaragua is a critical one is recognized and acknowledged by everyone: Sandinists and the opposition, trade unions supporting one or the other, the clergy and their parishioners, and ordinary people who are not too versed in political slogans and the nuances of parliamentary debates. There is constant debate about ways of solving the crisis, and diametrically opposite opinions are sometimes expressed. But everyone agrees on one thing: Nicaragua is not going to solve its problems until the war ends. It is aggravating the economic calamities and the grim position of the working people. It is splitting the nation in two and dividing families.

In Esteli, capital of the department of the same name in northern Nicaragua, I saw a group of contras who had given themselves up and whom the Sandinists had decided to release. They were sitting on wooden chairs in a corner of a large hall on the second floor of the building occupied by the city fire brigade. Very young men and women, elderly men in camouflage shirts or civilian clothes, glancing anxiously about them or glumly staring straight ahead. One feeling, one facial expression that one noticed immediately was perhaps common to them all—fatigue. A noise behind me made me turn around. Some people, talking in hushed tones, came up the stairs and entered the hall. From the way some of the prisoners were drawn toward them, the way they looked intently at them, I realized that they were their families, their fathers and mothers, wives and children, brothers and sisters. The press conference began. The prisoners approached the microphone, talked briefly about themselves, answered questions, and sat down. Again they fastened their gaze on those behind us. The final question was answered. We dispersed. Slowly, diffidently, keeping themselves in check, the people reached out to one another. One was now embracing his sobbing mother, one was hugging the tousled head of his younger brother, one was rooted to the spot, apparently unable to believe that all of it was happening to him.

"It is not my war," Nestor Sevilla, one of the contras who had surrendered, told me. "It is someone else's war. I am a peasant, and I want to get back to the land. It will give me peace."

Nestor had made his choice. Those who have stayed to fight in the mountains and selva, who are steeling themselves for new "exploits" in the counterrevolutionaries' camps in Honduras, have made theirs. One would hope it is not a final one. There are peasants among them who were driven out and intimidated by the contras. There are those who swapped mattock for rifle because they were unable to make ends meet. There are confused people who are resentful of the Sandinists—in a brief period of 9 years, filled with errors and victories, the new authorities have been unable to reach everyone.

There are those who regard war as their profession, commanders "working" for those who pay them. They are responsible for the deaths of five inhabitants of the settlement of San Carlos in the northern part of the country's Atlantic seaboard on 2 July. It was they who on 9 July in Matagalpa Department put an antitank mine under a truck carrying Nicaraguan civilians, including mothers of soldiers in the Sandinist People's Army. The contras are continuing their acts of sabotage, and their completely innocent compatriots are the victims.

Finally, there are those who pay. Since U.S. Ambassador in Managua Richard Melton was declared persona non grata, accused by the Nicaraguan Government of implementing a subversive plan to destabilize the already troubled situation in the country and provoke riots, and since the closure of the opposition newspaper LA PRENSA for 2 weeks and "Radio Catolica" indefinitely for fueling antigovernment sentiments, Washington has again been discussing the question of allocating another $47 million to the contras. Senior White House aides are again claiming in unison that only pressure and military threats can get concessions from the Sandinists.

"It was in this vein that the contra leaders operated at the last two rounds of talks with the country's government in May and June in Managua," Alejandro Bendana, secretary general of the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry, said. "By putting forward what they knew was an unacceptable demand for a revision of the results of the legal elections of 1984, their intention is to gain time and get more funds from Congress, while going on about our intractability and reluctance to find a compromise solution."

I witnessed these talks in Managua. Both sides were at boiling point. It was a case of alternating mutual recrimination and a quest for points of contact, hopes, and disappointments. But the contra leaders and the government delegation did not achieve what they sat down at the negotiating table to achieve—an agreement on a total cease-fire. The conflict has become a festering sore.

"The trouble is that the conflict has spread beyond our borders and acquired an international dimension, and it is now extremely difficult for the Nicaraguans to settle it themselves." This is the view of one of the opposition leaders, Mauricio Diaz, secretary general of the Socialist Christian Popular Party.

How is this rapidly changing situation in Nicaragua—improving, then deteriorating— going to develop in the future? It is hard to tell. One thing is clear: Nicaraguans—a conscientious people who love life—will be able to settle their problems if they are allowed to. Then they will be able to walk tall.

CPSU Greets Guayana Party Congress

PM0408131588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jul 88 Second Edition p 3

[CPSU Central Committee message: "To the 23d People's Progressive Party of Guyana Congress"]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee sends cordial greetings and best wishes for fruitful work to the delegates to the 23d People's Progressive Party of Guyana [PPP] Congress.

For many years the CPSU and the PPP have maintained relations based on common ideals and the principles of equality and mutual respect. The Soviet Union is well aware of the great contribution made by the PPP to the cause of ridding its country of colonial domination, and of its activity in rallying Guyanese society's anti-imperialist democratic forces with a view to securing the country's sovereignty and its social and economic progress. The PPP's active participation in the antiwar movement and its solidarity with other peoples' freedom struggle have won it deserved recognition.

Soviet Communists make a high assessment of the support given by the PPP to the CPSU's course of restructuring, bringing about the comprehensive and revolutionary renewal of Soviet society, democratizing it, and accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and its major decisions, which are of historic importance, were a major stage in the implementation of this course.

The policy worked out by the CPSU of new thinking in international relations has generated an extensive response worldwide. Thanks to this policy important positive shifts have been achieved in real nuclear disarmament, the resolution of regional conflicts, and the strengthening of overall security. All peoples—large and small—benefit from this.

We wish you, dear comrades, successes in your activity for the sake of your country's fundamental interests.

Long live the friendship between the CPSU and the PPP and between the Guyanese and Soviet peoples!

The CPSU Central Committee

Political & Social

Commission Studies Stalin Repressions

PM0508142188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Aug 88 First Edition pp 1, 2

["At the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission for the Additional Study of Materials Linked With the Repressions That Took Place in the Thirties, Forties, and Early Fifties"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] At its routine sitting, the commission examined materials connected with the rehabilitation through legal procedures of persons who were criminally prosecuted in the matter of the so-called cases of the "Union of Marxists-Leninists," the "Moscow Center," the "Anti-Soviet United Trotskiy-Zinovyen Center," and the "Parallel Anti-Soviet Trotskyist Center." They heard the USSR Supreme Court's report concerning the results of the examination of the USSR Procurator General's protests concerning these cases.

By the decisions of the Collegium of the OGPU [United State Political Directorate, attached to the Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR between the years 1922 and 1934], M.N. Ryutin, M.S. Ivanov, V.N. Kayurov, L.B. Kamenev, G.Ye. Zinovyev, P.A. Galkin, V.I. Demidov, P.P. Fedorov, G.Ye. Rokhkin, P.M. Zamyatin, N.I. Kolokolov, V.L. Lisyanskaya, V.B. Gorelov, A.N. Slepkov, D.P. Maretskiy, N.I. Vasilyev, B.M. Ptashnyy, Ya.E. Sten, P.G. Petrovskiy, I.S. Rozengauz, Ya.V. Staroselskiy, B.A. Karnaukh, S.V. Tokarev, M.I. Mebel, A.V. Kayurov, P.A. Silchenko, I.N. Borgior, A.S. Zeldin, A.I. Kozlovskiy, and M.Ye. Ravich-Cherkasskiy between the years 1932 and 1933 were held criminally liable through extrajudicial procedures and were given various sentences.

They were all accused of setting up a counterrevolutionary organization, called the "Union of Marxists-Leninists," preparing a program document for that organization, and actively carrying out anti-Soviet activities aimed at opposiing Soviet power and restoring capitalism in the USSR.

It has been established that the conduct of the investigation of these cases grossly violated the law. No charges at all were brought against L.B. Kamenev and G. Ye. Zinovyev. The case materials contain no data whatsoever about any anti-Soviet criminal activity by the persons charged. As for their political outlooks and theoretical views, expounded in the program document, they were merely of a discussion nature and contained no calls for the overthrow, subversion, or weakening of Soviet power.

In June 1988, The USSR Supreme Court set aside the decisions of the OGPU Collegium on M.N. Ryutin, M.S. Ivanov, V.N. Kayurov, L.B. Kamenev, G.Ye. Zinovyev, P.A. Galkin, V.I. Demidov, P.P. Fedorov, G.Ye. Rokhkin, P.M. Zamyatin, V.L. Lisyanskaya, V.B. Gorelov, A.N. Slepkov, D.P. Maretskiy, B.M. Ptashnyy, Ya.E. Sten, Ya.V. Staroselskiy, B.A. Karnaukh, S.V. Tokarev, A.V. Kayurov, P.A. Silchenko, I.N. Borgior, A.S. Zeldin, A.I. Kozlovskiy, and M.Ye. Ravich-Cherkasskiy, and dismissed their cases owing to the absence of any criminal content in their actions.

M.I. Mebel, N.I. Kolokolov, P.G. Petrovskiy, N.I. Vasilyev, and I.S. Rozengauz had previously been legally rehabilitated.

In 1937, Ryutin, Rokhkin, and Zamyatin were again convicted of the same and other fabricated charges, and the military collegium of the USSR Supreme Court condemned them to be shot. In June 1988, a plenum of the USSR Supreme Court anulled the sentences on these persons, and dismissed their cases because of the absence of corpus delicti.

During 15 and 16 January 1935, the USSR Supreme Court military collegium on the so-called "case of the Moscow center" sentenced Kamenev, Zinovyev, Gertik, Kuklin, Sakhov, Yevdokimov, Bakayev, Sharov, Gorshenin, Tsarkov, Fedorov, Gessen, Tarasov, Fayvilovich, Gertsberg, Anishev, Perimov, Bravo, and Bashkirov to various terms of imprisonment. They were charged with creating an undergound counterrevolutionary organization, of which Zinovyev was reckoned to be the main leader. The organization was ascribed with aiming to carry out terrorist acts against party and government leaders and complicity in preparing the murder of Kirov. A check of the case has shown that the evidence was falsified. No criminal organization was being created by these persons. They were not engaged in anti-Soviet activities.

The plenum of the USSR Supreme Court has annulled the sentences in the cases of Zinovyev, Gertik, Kuklin, Sakhov, Yevdokimov, Bakayev, Sharov, Gorshenin, Tsarkov, Gessen, Tarasov, Fayvilovich, Gertsberg, Anishev, Perimov, Kamenev, Bravo, and Bashkirov, and has dismissed their cases because of the absence of evidence. Fedorov was rehabilitated in 1965.

The case of the so-called "anti-Soviet united Trotskiy-Zinovyev bloc" was examined by the military collegium of the USSR Supreme Court from 19 to 24 August 1936, sitting in open session. In this case, Yevdokimov, Bakayev, Mrachkovskiy, Ter-Vaganyan, Smirnov, Dreytser, Reyngold, Pikel, Goltsman, Frits-David (Kruglyanskiy), Olberg, Berman-Yurin, and M. and N. Lurye were sentenced to the supreme penalty, as well as Zinovyev and Kamenev, who had had criminal proceedings instituted against them again. These people were convicted of carrying out anti-Soviet, espionage, sabotage and terrorist activities, for complicity in the murder of Kirov, and for preparing terrorist acts against party and government leaders.

The painstaking analysis of the materials of the case has shown that they were just as groundlessly convicted. The plenum of the USSR Supreme Court has ruled in favor of the protest of the USSR Procurator General, quashed the sentence, and dismissed the case due to the absence of any criminal content in the actions of Zinovyev, Kamenev, Yevdokimov, Baykayev, Mrachkovskiky, Ter-vaganyan, Smirnov, Dreytser, Reyngold, Pikel, Goltsman, Frits-David-Kruglyanskiy, Olberg, Berman-Yurin, and M. and N. Lurye.

By a decision of the plenum of the USSR Supreme Court, Kamenev was also rehabilitated concerning the so-called Kremlin case, in which he was convicted on 27 July 1935.

On 30 January 1937 the military collegium of the USSR Supreme Court in open session sentenced to execution by shooting Pyatakov, Serebryakov, Muralov, Drobnis, Livshits, Boguslavskiy, Knyazev, Rataychak, Norkin, Shestov, Turok, Pushin, Grashe; to various terms of deprivation of freedom Sokolnikov, Radek, Arnold, and Stroilov.

Arnold and Stroilov were later executed by shooting on the strength of a sentence passed in absentia. They were convicted of creating and belonging to the so-called "Parallel Anti-Soviet Trotskyist Center," of treason, espionage, subversion, sabotage, and terrorist activities. It has been established that the charges proferred against these persons were groundless and that the materials of the case were fabricated. Nor did the "Parallel Anti-Soviet Trotskyist Center" exist as such.

The plenum of the USSR Supreme Court has anulled the sentence and has dismissed the case against Pyatakov, Livshits, Drobnis, Rataychak, Shestov, Sokolnikov, Radek, and Arnold due to the absence of any criminal element in their actions.

The USSR Supreme Soviet earlier had legally rehabilitated Serebryakov, Muralov, Boguslavskiy, Knyazev, Norkin, Turok, Pushin, Grashe, and Stroilov.

The USSR Supeme Court's report on the results of the examination of these cases and on the legal rehabilitation of the persons subjected to illegal repressions has been taken cognizance of.

The commission is continuing its work.

Ligachev Visits Gorkiy, Meets Party Activists

Remarks on Party Conference

LD0508151388 Moscow TASS in English 1441 GMT 5 Aug 88

[Text] Gorkiy August 5 TASS—"The decisions of the 19th party conference open up new vistas for perestroyka, setting into motion powerful forces of democracy and socialist self-management," Yegor Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, told party activists of the Gorkiy regional party organization today.

The speaker said that the conference, held a little more than a month ago, sharply denounced errors and crimes of the past and criticised shortcomings and failings that occurred in the past three years.

At the same time, the delegates rejected the attempts to erase the achievements of the Soviet people and the party in building socialism, belittle the real results of the perestroyka drive and impose ideas of multi-party system and political opposition in society.

Ligachev dwelt on the issue of money and commodity relations and the market, describing them as "realities of the socialist economy."

Noting that their underestimation was being overcome in the USSR, he warned against copying the Western model of the market since the capitalist market is not only a market of commodities and capitals, but also a manpower market with its ruthless laws and chronic unemployment.

Critical assessment of the lessons of history and continuity in policy were indispensable conditions for the party's successful work, said the CPSU Central Committee secretary. Ignoring either of these approaches was fraught with serious complication which was evidenced from the crisis developments in the Caucasus.

Misunderstanding the notion of democratisation, some people were seeking to resolve emerging problems by strikes, Ligachev said. Socialism was a system of the working people striking against themselves was absurd. Soviet society had other, democratic, constructive ways to handle conflict situations, he said.

Ligachev considered issues of the CPSU's foreign policy, specifically the relationship between universal human and proletarian class interests. "We proceed from the class character of international relations," he said. "Raising the question in another way only confuses the minds of the Soviet people and our friends abroad. Therefore, active participation in the solution of universal human problems in no way means any artificial 'deceleration' of social and national liberation struggle."

He recalled that Mikhail Gorbachev in his report to the 19th party conference reaffirmed the CPSU's solidarity with the working people around the world.

Tours Vehicle Factory

LD0508005188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 4 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev, who is in Gorkiy, has visited the Gorkovskiy Avtomobilnyy Zavod production association, where he acquainted himself with the development of the technical reequipping and the organization of work on the production of new freight vehicles.

As is known, at the 19th all-union party conference, the fundamental modernization of the country's machine-building industry was described as a decisive condition of the acceleration of scientific-technical progress.

Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev chatted with the works' industrial and technical engineering staff, learned about the social development of the enterprise, and attended a meeting of the party-economic aktiv. The CPSU Central Committee secretary also met with workers of the mass media and visited the newly created cooperative agro-industrial association (Shatki).

Meets Arzamas Residents

LD0508015488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 4 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by correspondent Ye. Sinitsyn from the town of Arzamas in Gorkiy Oblast]

[Text] [Sinitsyn] How people respond to others' misfortunes! The Arzamas tragedy has shown the true face of human goodness. [video shows scenes of the chemical disaster in Arzamas] Here at this crossing there was a monstrous explosion which one can almost still hear today. There was a crater here where these rails now run. And here, for many kilometers around there was grief. People perished and houses were destroyed. [video shows Sinitsyn talking to unidentified woman] Was it terrible here?

[Woman] Terrible, of course. It is impossible even to think back. It's a miracle, of course, that I survived. I don't know how.

[Sinitsyn] Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev arrived here in Arzamas today. [video shows Ligachev and entourage leaving a bus, walking over to a crowd of people. He is shown a collection of photographs and diagrams concerning the Arzamas explosion, mounted on placards] The recent event in this town was a cause of serious concern to the whole country and its leadership. These photographs taken exactly 2 months ago contain grief, pain and courage. [video shows closeup of a photo depicting a large dust cloud rising above a building; a group of photos under the rubric "Restoration Work. In the Zone of Destruction" is then shown]

[Ligachev, addressing those present] I can tell you straight that we are very aggrieved by the fact that people died here, that children died. You know, each person's life is unique and unrepeatable. And some of them died before they could reveal their capabilities. As the saying goes, they hadn't had time to live. Once again, on behalf of the party Central Committee, the government, and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev personally, we convey to you our profound condolences, express our feelings of grief, and ask you to find the strength and courage, so to speak, to overcome this misfortune completely. That is our main loss—people died, but there was also a considerable amount of damage. I have been told that overall the damage comes to around R100-110 million. But I would say that the government commission headed by Comrades Vedernikov and Gorshkov and the oblast leaders, together with you, I sense...[changes thought] We are very pleased that you rate your leaders so highly. In that situation they showed their best side.

[Unidentified woman] Thank you.

[Ligachev] I sense that they did perhaps more then they could have in normal circumstances. A very great deal has already been restored, and a considerable amount has been built. The most important thing now is to try and finish all this work by the winter so that you can go into winter, so to speak, under normal living conditions. They say that the health workers acted very well here.

[Woman] And the militia.

[Ligachev] Yes, the militia workers. And well, with great satisfaction I ought simply to note the organization, the responsibility, and the courage displayed by all citizens of the town of Arzamas.

[Sinitsyn] We know about the decisions of the government commission on eliminating the consequences of the explosion. How are these being implemented? This was discussed in the party gorkom. How? Almost half of the houses have already been rebuilt, hundreds of families have been given new housing, and in general the whole town is now like a busy construction site. Other towns have lent the people of Arzamas a helping hand. [video shows Ligachev at the gorkom meeting] On the fully rebuilt suburban street Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev was invited into many houses. Here he is talking to the family of worker Andrey Ivanovich Chekhlov:

[Chekhlov] There were virtually no casualties on our street. That's a good thing. I would mention to you that...

[Ligachev, interrupting] Were you in this house at the time or had you already left for work?

[Chekhlov] Well, you know what happened? I was intending to go out to the country. I put my eldest grandson in his cradle. My son came out, with his 2-year-old boy and (?my) wife and they stood there. I asked my grandson if he had the fishing rods. He said he had one, and I said why just one? Take one for me as well. So we searched for the rod. We had to travel right over the crossing. Then I asked if he had taken any spare hooks. No, so I said go and find some hooks. So we were looking for the hooks and the fishing rod; he had only just (?called) and then there was the blast.

[Ligachev] If it hadn't been for that you (?might have been) at the crossing.

[Chekhlov] We might have been there. It was chance.

[Unidentified official] Did any bits of flying metal hit the house?

[Chekhlov] Yes, I'll show you what landed here.

[Ligachev] We are very happy that you've been given assistance, that you've got fixed up.

[Chekhlov] Thank you. Everything's fine.

[Ligachev] Thanks to you for your kindness, for taking such an attitude toward the government assistance.

[Chekhlov] People have all been working on their houses, and your help, the state's help is very, very [shakes his head at a loss for words]...big.

[Ligachev] Well, that's the Soviet state for you.

[Sinitsyn] There was just a field here 2 months ago. Now, they are building a new urban rayon which is already developing its own features. [video shows new block of flats] Discussions with builders ensues.

[Ligachev] People have been very grateful to all of you, to the leaders and the builders. I would say that such a mood...[changes thought] And it was a great misfortune, after all; however you look at it 91 people died, including 14 children, and people have still not got back to normal. I would say they have still not cooled down. They are very agitated. Of course, there was great property damage, but the main thing is that we lost our people, and the fact that you have come here and quickly done—not just done some slap-dash repair and building work—you've done some good repairs, and you're actually creating a whole estate, our thanks to you for that.

[Unidentified man] This is in the spirit of restructuring.

[Builder] It works out to exactly 2 months. All this has sprung up in 2 months.

[Ligachev] How many houses have you put up here so far?

[Second unidentified man] Nine blocks are being built here at the moment, consisting of 700 flats.

[Ligachev] The housing is fine, but where are the retail outlets here?

[Second man] Social and cultural facilities. [as heard] This microrayon is being built as a single complex. All social, cultural, and retail facilities are catered for here. The first phase alone contains two shops. They are doing the building work, and the foundations are done already. There's a school, which is being built by Glavvolgavyatstroy under the (Minsevzapstroy). Construction work is already beginning. There's a kindergarten with 140 places. We've almost finished assembling the frame, and it will be commissioned this year, and there will be another kindergarten next year.

[Ligachev] I would like to ask you to take the whole social and cultural sphere in hand, as they say, and create the right conditions immediately.

[Third unidentified man] Right, quite right. That's what we shall do.

[Ligachev] Take things in hand while people are here, or else they will leave. [laughter]

[Second man] We could adapt two premises.

[Ligachev] Yes, you're good at adapting, but get the main building work done first!

Further Reportage on Nagorno-Karabakh Situation

Stepanakert Social, Economic Talks

LD0408224888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Party and economic managers at today's meeting in Stepanakert discussed realistic ways of resolving acute problems of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region's social and economic development.

Arkady Volskiy, representative of the CPSU Central Committee and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, addressing the meeting, stated that a package of measures directed at fulfilling the party and government decisions on Nagorno-Karabakh and meeting its population's daily needs and requirements had been worked out and was being implemented in the region.

The need was stressed to stabilize the work of food-industry businesses, normalize communal services, improve drinking water supply for the regional centre's residents and speed the construction of dwellings and the development of trade.

To increase the efficiency of agriculture, speakers at the meeting said, it was necessary to introduce modern forms of work with due account for demographic conditions and availability of manpower.

The meeting considered in detail issues related to the improvement of the activity of law-enforcement bodies in the autonomous region.

Special attention was given to settlers who had arrived in the autonomous region and the problem of their return to areas where they reside permanently.

The meeting's participants came out in favour of objective news coverage of developments in Nagorno-Karabakh and timely explanatory work to prevent the circulation of rumours and gossip used as a pretext for negative manifestations.

Also taking part in the meeting were Pogosyan, first secretary of Nagorno-Karabakh Obkom, and Kharchenko, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department.

Power Supply Improves

PM0408121988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Aug 88 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "How Is Power Supply in NKAO Developing?"]

[Text] Baku—Where will the new power lines in Nagorno-Karabakh run? A precise reply to this question can be given by experts from Azerbaijan's Main Administration for Power and Electrification who have just completed work on a plan for the development of the autonomous oblast's power supply.

The development of the power supply network in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] will progress considerably faster than planned earlier, I. Guseynov, deputy chief of Azerbaijan's Main Administration for Power and Electrification, said. For example, we are planning to reconstruct as early as this year the high-voltage substation in Martuni, the center of a rayon where agricultural production is developing intensively.

According to the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Measures To Accelerate the Socioeconomic Development of NKAO in the Azerbaijan SSR in 1988-1995," it is planned to build a series of power transmission lines which will link the Azerbaijan GRES, the largest thermal power plant in the Transcaucasus, with all NKAO rayons.

Special attention has been given to internal farm networks. Power transmission lines, small in capacity and length alike, will run through many of the oblast's farms. They will make it possible to place agriculture on a qualitatively new basis and to apply advanced technology in fields and stock units.

In order to fulfill the planned power supply program, it is intended to consolidate the specialized economically accountable section of the "Azelektrosetstroy" Trust based in Stepanakert. It has been decided to send there machines, equipment, and specialist teams from other regions of the republic.

Azerbaijan Economists Meet

NC0408071888 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0340 GMT 3 Aug 88

[From the review of the republican press]

[Text] The newspapers report that the republic's party economic aktivs have met to discuss the tasks of the party, soviet, and economic organs related to the question of quickly upgrading and improving the work that is carried out within the framework of the security guards system [kulluk hizmetler dairesi] as called for by the demands of the 27th CPSU Congress,the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, and the July 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Svetlana Kasumova, secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the meeting.

Meeting on Resolution Fulfillment

NC0508103188 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 5 Aug 88

[From the review of KOMMUNIST]

[Text] The paper carries a report on the meeting of the Yerevan City party and soviet aktiv that examined the question of progress in the fulfillment of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau's resolution regarding Nagorno-Karabakh.

The proceedings of the aktiv meeting were not held with proper decorum: a presidium was not chosen; microphones were installed in the hall; and, in addition to those invited the meeting was attended by many (?undesirables). After a debate on the question, a draft resolution was adopted by acclamation condemning attempts by certain individuals and groups to introduce disunity into the minds of the working people and denouncing the practice of collecting signatures against the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's resolution.

The draft resolution was discussed at meetings of labor collectives in the city's rayons, and a final resolution was then adopted. It stresses in particular the need to settle many social problems and right many wrongs.

Relocation of Sumgait Residents

NC0408190888 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 3 Aug 88

[Text] Yerevan, 3 Aug (ARMENPRES)—A report from the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers' meeting held to discuss the problems of the residents of Sumgait who have come to the republic states that between 4 March and 6 April and after the tragic events in that city, 821 families or 3,289 people have moved to the republic.

Thanks to the measures taken, all the families have been housed in the various cities and regions, and steps are being taken to solve their employment problems. A number of plots of land have been allocated to families for the construction of individual houses in the Abovyan, Nairi, and Ashtarat regions. On the basis of a decision by the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, almost all of the republic's contractual enterprises are helping in the construction of houses.

A number of regional and city soviets, as well as [word indistinct] committees, have carried out noteworthy activities toward the solution of the problem of the placement of the said residents.

The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers' meeting held to discuss the Sumgait residents' placement ended its work on 27 July 1988.

History Exhibition 'Not Much'

PM0408133988 Moscow TRUD in Russian 4 Aug 88 p 2

[Report by TRUD special correspondent Yu. Petrov: "To Strengthen Fraternity; Thoughts on the Yerevan Museum of the Revolution"]

[Text] Yerevan—A month ago when I came to Yerevan, I could not get into the Armenian SSR State Museum of the Revolution, nor into the Museum of Armenian History—they have the same entrance. A piece of paper was hung up on the inside of the glass doors with the sign "On Strike."

Today the picture is different: The city's enterprises are working at an intense pace. Labor collective councils and trade union organizations are vigorously looking for a way out of the complex situation created by the strike: Timetables have been tightened up, break times have been reduced, specialists are counting the losses, and collectives are making up for the lag. In this sense constructive work is going well in a number of industrial enterprises.

Cultural establishments have also opened their doors. I went to the Museum of the Revolution once again. Its exhibits gave a convincing account of the country and the Armenian SSR's progress on the path of building socialism. From a portrait of the Baku commissar S. Shaumyan depicted on a grain of rice, to sabers and a model of an armored train—everything preserves the atmosphere of the era. Heroic models of the participants of the Stakhanovite movement, the Great Patriotic War, and the postwar reconstruction of the national economy have been recreated. Then it is as if the exhibition comes to an abrupt halt.

"We intend to reorganize the stands," A.A. Galastyan, deputy director of the museum, says. "We intend to present the beginning of restructuring and show the greatness of the goals set by the 27th CPSU Congress.... I asked:

"Are there sections which show the essence of Lenin's nationalities policy?"

"We tried to give an outline of this topic," Anaid Andrannikovna replied. "There are the works of V.I. Lenin and leaflets in the Georgian and Azerbaijani languages. There is a story about the Baku commissars. This weaving loom presented by the inhabitants of Ivanovo-Voznesensk in 1922 is interesting. The textile industry of Leninakan and the entire republic began with this loom. Our assistance to Georgia during natural disasters and our participation in eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl accident are represented. We are preparing a separate stand to the 18th Trade Unions Congress...."

Obviously, there is not much! So many glorious pages in the history of the Armenian people's friendship with all the country's peoples have not been represented in the museum's exhibition, and so many marvelous international traditions are simply not functioning although the need for them and the pull toward the interpretation of history have never been so great as in the current year.

Lack of Armenian History Texts

NC0408202488 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] Yerevan, 4 Aug (ARMENPRES)—With the commencement of the new academic year, thousands of students in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] will be going to school to learn from the textbooks that have been published for them.

The "Luys" Publishing House of the Armenian SSR is filling orders for textbooks for the NKAO schools. We report on remarks by S. Movsesyan, director of the publishing house.

"It is not a secret to anyone anymore that there have been serious inefficiences and defects in the academic activities of the NKAO stemming from the years of lack of textbooks, the inability to meet the required quantities, and the absence of some textbooks from schools, namely of 'The History of the Armenian People,' which has not been taught in the schools.

"The following procedure is still being used for sending textbooks to the NKAO. The oblast informs the Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Education of its needs. The Azerbaijan SSR Ministry of Education in turn informs the Armenian SSR Ministry of Education. After the required quantity is published, the textbooks are sent to Baku and then to Stepanakert. However, it is possible to do away with these difficulties and to shorten this long procedure. To do this, it is necessary to receive the orders from Stepanakert and to send the books there directly. I think that the issue should be seriously studied, since there is also another aspect involved. During

the long "journey" the textbooks naturally lose their original form. Their covers are destroyed and many textbooks (?become unusable). Most unforgiveable of all, however, is the fact that not all the books reach their destination.

"In relation to this issue, we have made a proposal, which was favorably received, to the representatives of the Union of the State Committee for Publications. We hope that in the near future, beginning next year, the issue will be finally resolved.

"I would like to add that this year we had orders for 60 different titles of textbooks for the NKAO, 56 of which we have completed. I think that our young compatriots in the NKAO will begin the 1988-89 academic year with a good disposition, and I would like express my wishes to them for success in their studies."

Baltic-Slavonic Society Formed in Latvia
LD0108084288 Moscow TASS in English 0432 GMT 1 aug 88

[Text] Riga August 1—Latinform correspondent Valdis Berzins writes:

The first task envisaged by a program of the Baltic-Slavonic society created recently in Latvia is to prolong the life of the Baltic Sea that washes the coasts of seven countries. Most of its members are Russian-speaking residents of that Soviet Baltic republic that make up about 50 per cent of its population. Active participation in the solution of ecological problems both of Latvians and of people of other nationalities is explained by their common traditions of economic, social and cultural development for many centuries.

The Baltic-Slavonic society created on the initiative of physicians, journalists, historians, economists and philologists has set itself the task of reviving cultural heritage and national pride, of helping those who settled recently in the republic to adapt themselves to its conditions, to promote mutual enrichment of cultures of all the nationalities living in Latvia.

"Latvians and Slavs have long lived on this land in friendship and concord," said Viktor Popov, a cardiologist, one of the initiators of the creation of the society. Suffice it to recall, for instance, that they jointly resisted the Teutonic expansion. It is worth recalling that the Russian emperor Peter the First gave ships to Riga as a present, built a shipyard there and personally took part in the laying out of the park part of which still makes a beautiful sight on the bank of the Daugava River.

These ideas of the society were met with understanding by the Latvian part of the republic's population. Welcoming the emergence of the new movement, Maris Markus, a young worker, wrote in a youth newspaper: "It is high time we do away with the stereotyped notions that Latvians have of Russians and that Russians have of Latvians. [sentence as received] Strange as it may seem, but we know more about Western culture than about the culture of the peoples living in the same republic with us."

Latvia was one of the biggest industrial centres of tsarist Russia. Russo-Balt, the first car produced in this country was made jointly by Russian and Latvian workers and engineers. The first Latvian intellectuals were formed under the influence of cultural ties of Petersburg and Riga. Jazep Vitol, the founder of Latvian music, was the pupil of the great Russian composer Nikolay Rimsky-Korsakov. In his turn, he was the teacher of Sergey Prokofiyev and Nikolay Myaskovsky.

The Russian drama theatre is the oldest of the theatres existing in the republic. Latvia's cultural life was closely connected with the names of the famous singer Fyodor Shalyapin, the writer Ivan Bunin and the poet Vladimir Mayakovsky.

Unfortunately, Viktor Popov believes: "During the past several years Russian people living in the republic began to lose touch with their culture. Moreover, they do not display any interest, as before, in the traditions and history of Latvia."

The first practical steps taken by the new informal association were the setting up of a committee for the revival of the Baltic sea and of a public commission for analyzing the works left by the Latvian economist Janis Turcins whose ideas where denounced and rejected during the years of stagnation. The society intends to promote the creation of conditions for a free exchange of information, the dissemination of humanitraian knowledge and the study of the history and role of Christianity in the Baltic region. Representatives of other Soviet Baltic republics expressed their desire to join the new society.

In the opinion of Viktor Popov, the existing deformities of the national self-awareness and inter-ethnic relations in the republic originated in the years of the Stalin regime and stagnation. The overcoming of those deformities is one of the objectives of the Baltic-Slavonic society which is part of the popular front—a movement in support for perestroyka—emerging in Latvia.

Work of Estonian Restructuring Front
LD0108045588 Moscow TASS in English 0425 GMT 1 Aug 88

[Text] Tallinn August 1—ETA correspondent Aleksandr Veski writes:

Five per cent of Soviet Estonia's 1.5 million population now consider themselves mature politicians capable of solving social problems.

They have been given this possibility by the creation in the republic of a new public movement—People's Front for Perestroyka.

Perestroyka, or restructuring, has drastically transformed the usual image of imperturbable Estonians and made them its most active participants.

Demands by the People's Front, which was set up four months ago, are regarded in the republic as perestroyka's programme.

The Front calls for giving Estonia a possibility to switch to work based on full cost-acconting, involving the public at large in the solution of political 'asks, closing ecologically harmful enterprises in Estonia, and starting work to solve ethnic problems.

Dr. Mihail Bronstein, head of the Political Economy Department at Tartu University who was delegate to the 19th Soviet Communist Party Conference held last June, says the country's economy needs to be radically reformed.

He explained the need fo reform by the fact that "the departmental method of management promises no economic gains in the long-term prospects and leads to huge political losses".

In Bronstein's opinion, departments are "exterritorial, they don't care whether the development of their region is balanced or not. The only time they want to know is whether there is a ready infrastructure for plants they are building".

In fact, he says, "departments' actions do not differ from those of any transnational (transrepublican) monoply". Moreover, departments are super-monopolies".

"There are few transnational monopolies that would have such a scope of activities as our ministries," Bronstein said.

Besides, departmentalism has utterly confused price formation by the introduction of zone differentiation and various kinds of bonuses.

Paradoxically, enterprises with higher profitability, and thus better economic peformance, receive fewer bonuses than those not so profitable.

There are also bonuses for growth rates. Again, they are easier to get by, say, a farm producing 1,500-2,000 litres of milk than one producing more than 4,000 litres of milk on average.

The scientist pointed out that Estonia's switch to cost-accounting had nothing to do with ethnic isolation.

The matter at issue is, "participation in national programmes should be of a dual nature—through a monetary, material contribution and through control". "One should know well the orientation and prospects of the republican economy's development and influence it. There must be a system of economic regulation and protection of nature and man at both national and republican levels," Bronstein said.

He said Estonia was drafting in detail a concept of cost-accounting.

Some proposed setting up a special economic zone in Estonia, but experts came to the conclusion that a pure imitation of Chinese experience was inadmissible since conditions in Estonia were quite different.

The success of Chinese special zones was determined by agrarian ovepopulation and an extremely low wage level, which ensured cheap labour force practically in any amounts. Estonia has no such factors.

There was a proposal on developing foreign family tourism, as the republic has conditions for that.

Others proposed the creation of technopolises—zones with special customs regimes—to which scientists of various Soviet constituent republics and countries would be invited for joint work on new ideas and technologies.

Tartu University and the Estonian Academy of Sciences have set up an inter-departmental centre for biotechnologies in Tartu.

Foreign companies, specifically Swiss, are already showing interest in it.

Such an approach will make it possible to export patents, licences and high technology, rather than raw maerials.

Ideas on the republican cost-accounting concept are being worked out under conditions of competition of several scientific organisations.

Bronstein believes that the concept will be fully worked out by the beginning of 1989.

"Resolutions of the 19th party conference boosted civic activity of Estonians," he said.

"Now it has been channeled into specific deeds. Such issues as drafting new laws and searching for new ways for economic development have ceased to be a closed zone for the public.

"Next year, Estonia will pass a new law on elections to soviets (local government bodies), which will allow nomination of candidates not only by regions and work collectives but also by cooperative and non-governmental organisations," Bronstein said.

Vilnius Radio Discusses 1940 Events

LD0508101088 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0000 GMT 3 Aug 88

["Facts and Comments" presented by Virgilijus Liauska]

[Excerpts] A historical essay about the year 1940 in Lithuania was begun in GIMTASIS KRASTAS some time ago. However, when the story reached the most interesting point—the visit made to Vyacheslav Molotov by Vincas Kreve-Mickevicius—the essay came abruptly to an end with the 12 June issue.

The meeting of the two heads of state, during a time when political tension both in Europe and in the Baltic states was at it its peak, cannot be regarded as insignificant and therefore passed over in silence. On the whole Molotov did not want to receive Kreve at all. Only when it was announced that a number of ministers of the People's Government of Lithuania would resign did he agree to receive our prime minister. This means that Kreve was eager to go to Moscow because he had some very serious objectives to achieve. One must suppose that the trip to Moscow was not opposed by Justas Paleckis, the then acting president.

It is true, as a weekly published in Vilnius at that time pointed out, that the meeting lasted for about 5 hours. The weekly went on to say that, I quote, Molotov declared that although the Soviet Government had signed a nonagression treaty with Germany, this treaty did not encourage them to give up caution. Therefore, having no intention of interfering in the world war that is now raging in the West, and with security considerations in mind, the Soviet Government must reinforce its influence in the Baltic states, end quote.

So, the secret veil has been lifted to some extent but it is absolutely clear that the 5-hour conversation did not end there.

Let us have a better look at this truly extraordinary event, which has been shrouded with a veil of secrecy.

First of all, Kreve drew Molotov's attention to the tactless behavior of Dekanozov, deputy commissar for foreign affairs, toward organs of state administration of sovereign Lithuania. Kreve produced facts as to when this representative from Moscow interfered openly in the work of the Lithuanian Council of Ministers. He also voiced his concern, and I quote, about meetings and rallies that are constantly being organized where foreign statesmen are glorified, end quote.

I want to make this more exact while stating that Lithuanian professional revolutionaries would have put their signature to Kreve's statement. [sentence as heard] Some of Stalin's crimes were already known to them, although not all. [passage omitted]

Kreve, as head of government, was more concerned with the destruction of the economy. This is what he said: If the situation continues unrestricted, economic catastrophy for the country is inevitable, which will in turn impact on the conditions of the Red Army, especially with respect to food supplies. [passage omitted]

Molotov stated that the Soviet Embassy in Kaunas was not given directions to interfere with the internal structure of the republic. This would seem to mean that the conflict had been solved and misunderstandings eliminated. But no, this was not the case. The most important had not been said yet by either of them. [passage omitted]

Molotov later began to speak about strategic objectives. This is what he said: I must say frankly today what is going to be clear to everybody tomorrow: Even the Russian tsars, beginning with Ivan the Terrible, strived to cut their way through to the Baltic Sea. This was not done on a personal whim, it was done because the development of the Russian nation and the Russian state demanded it. It would be unforgivable if the Soviet Government failed to take advantage of this opportunity now, which may not occur again, end quote.

Soviet authorities, according to Molotov, have made a decision to incorporate the Baltic states into the family of Soviet republics, as separate Soviet republics, naturally. Both Molotov and Stalin adhered to the opinion that weakness of the government is weakness of the state. This erroneous identification of the government and state lead to adopting erroneous decisions concerning Finland and especially concerning Poland. Now this theory was applied to Lithuania. For example, speaking about Smetona and Ulmanis, the Latvian president, Molotov said that their policies were unwise and that this simply compelled the Soviet Union to renounce sentiments and concentrate on matters that were vital to the Soviet Union. According to Stalin and Molotov's theory, not only the government had to be changed but the political system in Lithuania too. It was better to join the honorable family of Soviet republics than to be invaded by Poland or Germany, said the commissar for foreign affairs. Following this, the task for Kreve was to prepare the administrative apparatus accordingly for a new system that would have to be introduced in these states in future. Besides, according to Molotov's point of view, little states will inevitably disappear in the future.

Of course, Kreve resisted this cynical position and said that during the most difficult times Lithuania was able to resist Poland's attempts to incorporate Lithuania and that she will be able to stand against such attempts in the future too. He said that he had not noticed any intentions on the part of Germany to invade Lithuania.

According to Kreme, Lithuanian farmers were frightened of possible change in the state system. Delegation after delegation kept coming to the Council of Ministers,

to him, asking what would happen next. He and (Mazahnickis), minister of agriculture, kept telling the farmers, trying to pacify them, that as long as they were in power the system of land management and farming would not be changed.

According to Kreve's point of view, it was unwise to ignore the opinion of the part of society that comprises about 80 percent of the total population of Lithuania. Having found out about possible collectivization, the farmers would react accordingly. Why do we need this? Wouldn't it be better to sign a treaty with the Soviet Union as one sovereign state with another on most favorable conditions? [passage omitted] Kreve repeated once more that he did not see any point in changing LIthuania's political structure, and that incorporation of Lithuania into the Soviet Union would undermine the stabilized order in Lithuania's economy, it would destroy economic bonds which would result in catastrophic impact on the life of the republic.

Molotov was surprised at the level of productivity in the Lithuanian economy and the export capacities; he said he did not doubt the official data, however, he believed that this productivity would not decrease in a different state system. The population of Lithuania would understand the benefit they were given and would be grateful for that fact that they had been rescued from being dragged into the war that was raging in Europe. Apart from this, the people of Lithuania would be consulted on this matter in a way that had been established in Soviet republics. Molotov said: We will be able to convince the people, and you will see that within 4 months the people of Lithuania will vote for incorporation into the Soviet Union.

Kreve said that these arguments did not convince him; some ministers of the people's government would draw certain conclusions because he said he now realized that the proposal to sign a new treaty had been rejected by the Soviet Government.

Molotov tried to pacify the Lithuanian prime minister saying that this proposal would certainly be discussed. However, he refused to undertake any assurances that the Soviet Government would change its intentions. Molotov wanted the People's Government to remain and continue cooperating with the Soviet Government for the sake of the welfare of Lithuania so that the change in the internal governmental system would take place without great upheaval. The members of the present People's Government would not like to be considered as enemies by their own people in future, would they? And with this hint the conversation that night in the Kremlin was concluded. [passage omitted]

More on Razumovskiy, Lukyanov at Seminar

PM0408132588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Aug 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Propaganda Workers' Seminar"]

[Text] Fundamental questions of the party's activity in the revolutionary renewal of socialism, the deepening of the theory and practice of restructuring, the democratization of society and party life, the implementation of the economic reform, and the development of national relations at the present stage were examined at the CPSU Central Committee on 3 August by a seminar of participants in propaganda groups which have been visiting local party organizations to explain the documents and materials of the 19th all-union party conference and the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum.

Members and candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee, members of the CPSU Central Auditing Commission, leading workers of central institutions and departments and the mass media, and scientists and specialists belonging to the propaganda groups took part in the seminar's work.

The seminar was addressed by G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and A.I. Lukyanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Shcherbitskiy at Ukraine Scientific Conference

WA18000562 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 10 Jul 88 p 1

[Report on Ukrainian Scientific Conference Dedicated to the 70th Anniversary of the First Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party (Bolshevik): "By a Course of Restructuring, Complete Renewal of Society"]

[Excerpts] The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference was of historical significance for the destiny of the nation. Having thoroughly analyzed the period since the April (1985) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the 27th party congress, it enriched the strategy and concretized the tactics of the socialist transformations and defined the ways, forms, and methods of work ensuring the ongoing development and irreversibility of restructuring. At present, the deeds and thoughts of all the Soviet people are linked with the implementing of the conference's ideas and with carrying out its decisions. In this dynamic situation the Communists and all the workers of the republic are celebrating the 70th anniversary of the 1st Congress of the KP(b)U [Ukrainian Communist Party (Bolshevik)] which formed in July 1918 the Ukrainian Communist Party, a component part of the unified Leninist Party.

A scientific conference held on 8 July in Kiev was devoted to the 70th anniversary of the First KP(b)U Congress. It was conducted upon a decision of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party [CPU] and organized by the Party History Institute Under the Central Committee of the CPU, an affiliate of the Marxism-Leninism Institute Under the CPSU Central Committee, by the Kiev Higher Party School and by the Social Sciences Section of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Invited to the conference were party veterans, scientific workers, instructors as well as the party and Komsomol aktiv.

Participating in the work of the conference were: the Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the CPU Central Committee, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, the members of the Politburo of the CPU Central Committee, Yu.N. Yelchenko, Ye.V. Kachalovskiy, B.V. Kachura, V.A. Masol, I.A. Mozgovoy, V.A. Sologub and A.A. Titarenko, as well as the Candidate Member of the Politburo of the CPU Central Committee, K.N. Masik.

In opening the conference, V.V. Shcherbitskiy said:

Respected comrades! It can be said without exaggeration that the life of the party and nation is presently being carried out under the impact of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. All the richness of its ideas and the innovative essence of the adopted decisions must be profoundly analyzed and embodied in concrete deeds.

The main result of the conference is that a political program position has been elaborated for all the fundamental questions. The conference decisions undoubtedly will provide a new strong impetus to the process of restructuring, to a complete renovating of society and to the acceleration of socioeconomic development in our nation.

The exceptionally great interest in the conference in our society and abroad makes it possible to assert that it has become a major sociopolitical event, truly a world-level event. As numerous responses indicate, the conference documents which elaborate the strategy and tactics of the new stage of restructuring are of enormous significance not only for our country.

Restructuring has provided a powerful impetus to the processes of renewal in the socialist countries, it is having an ever-growing impact on the development of events in the modern world and, above all else, creates a favorable situation for the strengthening of international security.

As you know, at the center of the conference's attention were the urgent problems in the life and activities of the party itself as well as the increasing of its role as the political vanguard of Soviet society. The conference recognized that it is essential for the party to act exclusively by political methods, through its cadre, organizational and ideological work. Here it was pointed out that each party organization and each Communist should become fighters for restructuring and the revolutionary renewal of society. This, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev emphasized, was the conference's main demand.

Considering the delimitation of the functions of the party and state, the economic bodies and the public organizations, it is essential to reorganize the party apparatus and make substantial changes in its structure.

The conference paid particular attention to the questions of the further development of democratization and glasnost and to a fundamental reform in the nation's political system. It was emphasized that the rebirth of Lenin's concept of socialism is inconceivable without a full restoration of the role and functions of the soviets as the bodies of authentic popular power. In this context at the next session of the nation's Supreme Soviet, they will examine the draft legislative enactments on the restructuring of the Soviet bodies, the essential amendments and additions to the USSR Constitution as well as the organization of elections and the conducting of a congress of people's deputies in April 1989.

At the conference, among the most urgent problems were those of international and patriotic indoctrination and international relations. The delegates emphasized the necessity of a carefully thought out and clear approach to them as well as a search for weighed and mutually acceptable decisions. It was constantly emphasized that the problems arising in this sphere should be resolved on a truly democratic basis, in line with restructuring and in the interests of strengthening the friendship of all the nation's peoples.

Significant attention, as you know, was also given to the questions of party foreign policy activities, to the democratization and greater effectiveness of our international ties.

In the economic area the conference decisions were aimed at deepening the radical reform in the economic mechanism and eradicating the obsolete bureaucratic methods of management. Great attention was given to further emancipating the initiative of the labor collectives, the entrepreneurship of the people and to strengthening their interest in the results of their labor.

The delegates actively discussed the questions of carrying out a strong social policy. This is one of the main priorities in party activities. Efforts are to be substantially increased in resolving the food and housing problems, saturating the market with high-quality goods and establishing a modern service sphere.

Serious concern was voiced over the state of environmental conservation. Here major measures are also to be implemented to fundamentally improve the ecological situation and, first of all, in the industrial regions.

In a word, the general party forum was a concentrated expression of the qualitatively new ideological-political, moral and spiritual state of our society. Additional powerful political, legal, ideological and organizational incentives and guarantees have been given to deepen the revolutionary processes of democratizing the life of society and also fundamental economic reform. The conference persuasively confirmed that our party and the Soviet people are firmly and steadfastly following the course of restructuring and acceleration.

Immediately after the conference, as is known, the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee examined certain questions related to the carrying out of its decisions and aimed, in particular, at quickly satisfying the urgent needs of the people.

The corresponding work in the actual implementation of the conference decisions is also being carried out in our republic.

Comrades! At this crucial and dynamic time the Communists and all the workers of the Republic are celebrating the 70th anniversary of the 1st Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party. Its delegates, assembling in July 1918 in Moscow, approved the decision for the founding of the Ukrainian Communist Party as an inseparable component part of Lenin's party. Having founded their organization on the firm foundation of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the Ukrainian Communists in deed showed their loyalty to the ideals of October.

It is worthy of note that the 70th anniversary of the First KP(b)U Congress coincides with another historic date, the 85th anniversary of the Second Congress of the RSDRP [Russian Social Democratic Workers Party] which marked the beginning to the new type of party, the Bolshevik Party.

Precisely this party succeeded in winning the trust of all the suppressed nations of Russia due to the fact that it consistently reflected in its program not only the political interests and social needs of the workers but also their national aspirations. The Ukrainian people will always remember precisely that the Leninist Bolsheviks consistently defended their national rights against the Tsarist autocracy and the Provisional Government which replaced it.

In the crucible of the three Russian revolutions, the Ukrainian working class underwent class tempering. The Bolshevik Party of internationalist Leninists was able to merge into a single focus the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the national liberation struggle of peoples.

With the victory of October, the question of the forms and methods of party construction and the reflecting of specific nationality features in the party's work arose anew. The Bolshevik party assumed responsibility for the fate of all the peoples, large and small, and in its policy was able to ensure consideration of their national interests. Life itself led the party to the need of establishing within it communist parties of the Soviet national republics.

V.I. Lenin stood at the cradle of the CPU. In April and in June 1918, Vladimir Ilich met with the Ukrainian party workers. He chaired a session of the Central Committee which discussed the question of founding the KP(b)U. In an unbelievably complicated situation, V.I. Lenin was able to dispell the concerns of the congress delegates and to instill in them a spirit of optimism and unshakable belief in the triumph of the common cause of the Russian and Ukrainian worker.

The shaping of the CPU on the Leninist theoretical, ideological and organizational principles conformed completely to the tasks of the new stage in the building of the Bolshevik Party. Such an approach reflected the concrete historical situation and took into account the general party, strategic goals and tactical tasks of the Ukrainian Bolsheviks.

The establishing of communist parties in Turkestan, the Ukraine, Lithuania, Belorussia and the other Soviet republics as part of the RKP(b) [Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik)] became a manifestation of one of the most important patterns in the post-October development of the party. Precisely this form of organizational structuring provided the possibility of safeguarding and strengthening party unity as well as taking maximum consideration of the general-party needs and national features.

In an introductory speech there is no need to take up in detail the history of the formation of the CPU. This will be dealt with thoroughly in the reports. I would merely like to draw the attention of those present to just several fundamentally important aspects.

In the first place, it must be emphasized that the idea of establishing party organizations in the national areas arose simultaneously in the Central Committee of the Leninist Party, as well as among the local party workers. Immediately after the victory of October, in November 1917, the oblast committee of the RSDRP(b) [Russian Social Democratic Workers Party (Bolshevik)] of the southwestern area raised before the Central Committee the questions of uniting the Ukrainian Bolshevik organizations into a regional organization of the unified Leninist Party and was given support in this.

Secondly, confronted with the very harsh tribulations related to the necessity of signing the Brest Peace, and for the Ukraine this meant the restoring of bourgeois landowner power and the cruelest occupation regime, the Ukrainian Communists did not change their internationalist convictions. Having confirmed the signing of the peace treaty at the Second All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets, they supported the cause of providing a lull for Soviet Russia.

Thirdly, at present it is wise to recall that the delegates of the First KP(b)U Congress to a man rose to the armed defense of Soviet power, having taken an active part in the July Days of 1918 in suppressing the revolt of the leftist SRs in Moscow. Finally, the very fact of the founding of the CPU with the rights of a local organization of the RKP(b) under the conditions of the forced

rupturing of the federative ties with Soviet Russia shows how strongly and organically internationalist ideas had become part of the conscience of the Ukrainian proletarian vanguard.

Comrades! Some 70 years separate us from those difficult, historic days. This time has contained a great deal: accomplishments and mistakes, victories and tragedies. The people which has defended the existence of the socialist forms of social organization in the struggle against the forces of the old world have been capable of implementing the boldest plans. The nation in an historically short time has joined the ranks of the most advanced capitalist powers of these times.

For our republic, all these changes have meant a transition to a new qualitative state. In the place of the former southern borderlands of the Tsarist Empire there has arisen a large Union Republic with a developed economy, science and culture, one of the most important regions of metallurgy, machine building, the extracting industry and agricultural production.

However, it is essential to point out that under the conditions of the administrative-command management system and the cult of personality, Lenin's concept of socialism was gradually eroded. This, as is known, led to flagrant political mistakes and crimes and did serious harm to the prestige of the party. The economy, social and spiritual life were also negatively influenced by the negative processes in the nation at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s and a thorough description of these was given in the materials of the 27th CPSU Congress and the other party documents. Today it is obvious that many of our current problems are the consequence of previously committed digressions from Lenin's ideas and from the political, economic and moral principles of socialism.

But we should be concerned that the miscalculations and errors did not overwhelm the main thing that comprises the historic feat of the Soviet people in creating and defending the new society. Only responsible analysis of the past will help us in successfully resolving those problems which have been raised on the agenda of restructuring. In this context let me voice certain ideas on the questions related to the further work of social scientists and primarily the party historians.

At present, great scope has been opened up for the development of theoretical thought and for a creative analysis of the realities and dynamics of social processes. The most important task and duty of the social scientists are to answer the questions of the times by investigating the changes occurring in the nation, by a profound analysis of the course of restructuring and the form in the political system and by providing dependable forecasts for the development of all spheres of social life. Responsible tasks are to be found in carrying out the Decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On Raising the Role of Marxist-Leninist Sociology in Resolving the Key Social Problems of Soviet Society." Immediate measures must be implemented to improve the entire system of information and for studying public opinion.

Furthermore, in celebrating today the 70th anniversary of the First KP(b)U Congress, we should say that we need complete truth about the past, capable of serving as a means for the moral purification of society as well as a powerful indoctrinational incentive. There must be an objective history of the path followed by the republic party organization without any "blank spots." On this level the new publications of party documents are important—primarily the protocols and verbatim minutes of all the congresses and conferences of the CPU. The Party History Institute Under the CPU Central Committee which is an affiliate of the Marxism-Leninism Institute Under the CPSU Central Committee has already commenced this very essential work, having timed a republishing of the protocols of its 1st Congress for the 70th anniversary of the CPU. This work must be continued. Furthermore, our historians and archivists evidently underestimate such an important source as the memoirs of party veterans. There are 23,000 of them in the CPU. This includes 37 who joined the party before the revolution in 1917 and 49 members who joined in 1918. To collect and preserve their memoirs for coming generations is an immediate and noble task.

One other thing. A very important stage in the history of our party, to put it figuratively, is being written now. For this reason we must presently initiate a study and generalization of the best experience of restructuring, propagandize it and make it available to all.

Local Militia Chief on Moscow Crime Situation

PM0308140388 Moscow TRUD in Russian 30 Jul 88 p4

[TASS report: "The Capital's Militia Reports Back"]

[Text] The meeting held at the Moscow Gorispolkom City Internal Affairs Administration on 29 July was devoted to summing up the results of work by the Moscow militia in the first 6 months of this year.

In a conversation with a TASS correspondent Lieutenant General P.S. Bogdanov, chief of the Main Internal Affairs Administration, said:

"First of all, I would like to dwell on some unresolved, painful issues. The situation in the city is still complex. Against the background of a reduction in the total number of crimes committed, the number of homicides, attempted homicides, and crimes causing grievous bodily harm has actually increased. The number of apartment break-ins and car thefts is still high.

"We have also had to come face to face with a phenomenon new to us—organized crime. This mainly takes the form of racketeering: Extortion with threats, which is

carried out by tightly knit groups. This business automatically leads to other crimes. The fights involving the use of firearms by the 'Uzbekistan' restaurant and the 'Belgrad' store, which have been much talked about in the city, were nothing other than a struggle between different criminal groups for spheres of influence.

"Drunkenness is playing a far more influential role on crime growth rates than before. I must say that we have not been successful in our efforts to combat this evil. Quite the reverse—the number of people arrested in a state of intoxication has increased and the number of home-distillers is also growing.

"Cooperatives have given us a fair number of extra problems. Unfortunately, among those engaged in this important and necessary work there are a considerable number of people with a police record who compromised themselves in their previous employment. We have brought to light several cases of bribe-taking among leaders of enterprises—the guarantors of cooperatives.

"Finally, I would like to say a few words about our work with cadres. We take the attitude that our ranks must be cleansed of people who have compromised themselves in any way. Every transgression of the law becomes the subject of a most exacting inquiry. During the first 6 months of this year 19 members of internal affairs organs had criminal charges brought against them."

Meets Press on Demonstrations

LD2907221988 Moscow TASS in English 2009 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 29 TASS—TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov reports:

In the six months of this year, Moscow was the scene of 246 meetings and demonstrations not authorised by the Moscow City Council. Some have been downright provocative. Over the same period last year 93 gatherings of this nature were held. This was reported by Lieutenant-General Pyotr Bogdanov, head of the chief department of Moscow militia, at a meeting with journalists today.

Democratisation of Soviet society has given the people the possibility to get together openly and to discuss sore point subjects, he said. Militia do not interfere with such gatherings and stand by only to maintain order and to suppress potential infringements of the law. These did take place: out of the total number of 35,000 participants of these 246 meetings, 42 people were detained for different violations of public order. There have also been cases of militiamen being attacked. "Democracy does not mean anything goes, and the Moscow militia takes a tough stand vis-a-vis this kind of situation," Lieutenant-General Bogdanov said.

The past half-year, he said, gave Moscow militia many headaches by the different manifestations of organised crime. Cases of racketeering have been registered in the city and clashes between groups of youngsters have become more frequent. After a recent development, when a militiaman was killed by drunken youngsters in Moscow's Zhdanovskiy district, a special order of the head of the chief department of Moscow militia allowed car patrols to bear truncheons and protective helmets and shields. "It cannot be ruled out," Bogdanov said, "that at some time in the future the street patrols will also appear on the beat with dogs."

"I would not describe the situation in Moscow as critical as Western journalists frequently try to present it," Bogdanov said. "It is just that the time has come to speak openly about these complex social problems which exist in any society. I will mention in passing that during my meetings with opposite numbers from Hungary, the USA, Denmark, Norway, Syria, Belgium, Finland it transpired that the number of crimes in Moscow per 10,000 population (there is such an indicator of efficiency of militia and police) is much less than in the capitals of these countries."

More on News Conference

PM0408094588 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jul 88 p 4

[O. Yanovskaya report: "38, Petrovka Reporting...."]

[Text] A press conference has been held at the Moscow Gorispolkom Main Internal Affairs Administration at which Lieutenant General P.S. Bogdanov, chief of the administration, talked about the activity of the capital's internal affairs organs, summed up the results of their work in the 1st 6 months of this year, and answered journalists' numerous questions.

"The last 6 months have been full of sociopolitical events," P.S. Bogdanov emphasized in his speech. "This period saw the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference in Moscow, the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting, and mass events to celebrate the millennium of Russia's Christianization. The main task facing MVD bodies is to effectively ensure public order in Moscow. Compared with 1st 6 months of 1987, the total number of registered crimes has fallen by 9.6 percent and serious crimes by 4.2 percent. In terms of such an important indicator as the number of crimes per 10,000 inhabitants, our city of Moscow with its multimillion population comes off much better than other capital cities in the world. But this fact is certainly no source of satisfaction to us, as the crime clearup rate is still low: It is 74 percent in the city as a whole but lower than that in some individual regions of the capital....

"There has also been an increase in certain types of crime, such as homicide, attempted homicide, and crimes causing grievous bodily harm. We are especially alarmed by the increase in crimes for personal gain—apartment break-ins, in particular."

Question: What are the main reasons for the low effectiveness of the fight against crime?

Answer: The reasons were given at the recent extraordinary session of the Moscow Gorispolkom City Internal Affairs Administration Collegium. One reason is the insufficient liaison between internal affairs bodies and the capital's labor collectives and primary party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations. Cadre policy is now becoming particularly important in internal affairs bodies. We do not hide the fact that, unfortunately, there are still bribe-takers, scroungers, and common criminals in militia uniform among us, as reported recently by our press. But we will stop at nothing to purify our ranks. For example, I can tell you that in the 1st 6 months of 1988 some 1,200 people were dismissed from internal affairs bodies in Moscow, half of whom were guilty of various official breaches.

Question: What are the dynamics of crime among minors?

Answer: Juvenile crime is unfortunately on the increase. For example, whereas in 1987 crime committed by minors comprised 22.6 percent of the total number of crimes, in the 1st 6 months of this year the figure increased to 25.6 percent. In terms of structure, crimes committed by minors include not only car thefts and apartment break-ins but also serious crimes such as burglary and rape. Drug addiction and alcoholism are also still with us. In the fight against juvenile crime more could be done by the militia and also by the family, schools, the Komsomol, sports organizations, and labor collectives. I also think that our press, radio, and television could play a more active role in work to reveal the causes of juvenile crime. I can say with a sense of great responsibility that today there is no problem more alarming and more serious than juvenile crime.

Interior Official on Demonstration Decree

LD0208162188 Moscow TASS in English 1400 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS - "More than 600 rallies and demonstrations have been held in the Soviet Union this year, attended by hundreds of thousands of citizens.

"These mass functions were mainly aimed at the solution of various social and economic issues and problems in the country's social life.

"Their participants favoured more intensive actions to protect the environment and preserve monuments of history and culture," Vasiliy Ignatov, head of the Organisation and Inspectorate Department at the USSR Ministry for the Interior, told newsmen at the Foreign Ministry Press Centre today.

Commenting on the July 29 decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on the order of organising and holding assemblies, rallies, street marches and demonstrations in the Soviet Union, he said that "such functions, sometimes attended by tens of thousands of people, demand certain organisation in holding.

"This is directed primarily at defending the safety of the participants, protection of public order and interests of other citizens."

At the same time, Gen. Ignatov said, "The constitutional rights to meetings and demonstrations are sometimes used by anti-social, nationalist and extremist elements for provocative and not infrequently criminal purposes."

The Soviet Interior Ministry official stated that the decree met the spirit and principles of the international covenant on civil and political rights and other U.N. documents.

Ignatov pointed out that the decree differed fundamentally from similar acts in other countries by the order of obtaining the permission to hold mass functions.

"In the overwhelming majority of countries, this matter is within the competence of the police. In the USSR, the permission is issued by a collective body, the local executive committee of the Soviet of People's Deputies.

"The executive committee may ban functions only if they contradict the constitution or threaten public order and safety of citizens," he said.

Referring to Article 5 of the decree, the general said that "State and public organisations and individual citizens have no right to hinder assemblies, rallies, street marches and demonstrations."

Apparatchik Writes on Party Privileges

PM0208133388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Aug 88 First Edition p 3

[Article by S. Karnaukhov, worker of the CPSU Central Committee apparatus, under the rubric "From the Mail": "About Privileges and Openness"]

[Text] When I was promoted to the post of chief of a party obkom department many years ago, Obkom First Secretary Semen Nikolayevich Shchetinin chatted with me. Concluding the conversation, he suddenly asked this question:

"How much do you earn now?"

During those years it was not the custom among Communists to expatiate on mercenary topics, and the question embarrassed me somewhat. I was working as a mine chief and receiving regular bonuses and, feeling ashamed of I know not what, I muttered:

"On average I make R600 a month."

"Good," Semen Nikolayevich smiled. "We will maintain half for you and compensate for the rest with trust."

I always considered it a great honor to be a member of Lenin's party, and I regarded the trust to work in the party apparatus as a special distinction and a high assessment for a Communist. This was the attitude taken to this in the party milieu for long years. And this was why people proudly agreed and transferred to party work despite the material losses and complexities lying in store for them.

I later learned that from the material viewpoint the party obkom first secretary, too, lived little better than we obkom apparatus workers. He used his salary to help his numerous relatives. He maintained his wife and children strictly, pampering them with no benefits of "chiefdom." We had profound respect for that principled Communist, the Donetsk miner who headed the underground obkom during the war years and was wounded during his crossings of the front line.

This is the first time in my life that I have written about material provision for party workers. Some people talk a very great deal of nonsense about this topic in the hope that uninformed people will fall for this fool's gold. How do things stand in actual fact?

Like this. In terms of average wages party workers are in 26th place among other professions—R216 a month. Of course, as in any establishment, there are snack bars and dining rooms for us. I have repeatedly seen comrades invited for talks bide their time so as to get into our snack bar or dining room. Sometimes their disappointment is amusing: It turns out that there are no "special" delicacies and dainties, and the prices are ordinary.

There is a very, very great deal of ballyhoo and idle talk about the special-diets dining room for senior officials in Granovskiy Street in Moscow. The CPSU Central Committee has investigated that dining room. It turned out that just 6.8 percent [of the clients] were party workers, including journalists on party newspapers. It has been decided to close the dining room.

But I will return to myself. I have a large family, and in the summer we travel to a dacha so that my grandchildren and children can fortify their health and get a breath of fresh air—there is a charge of R148 to spend the 3 summer months there. And the dacha is nothing exceptional. When I retire on pension, I will have neither a dacha nor a private car nor savings—on our salaries you cannot even dream of this. My pension might be somewhere around R200—and that is if they take into account the front, my underground work, and, naturally, my time in my present party job. So the only "privilege" a party worker will have left in his old age is the opportunity to recall the times which passed rapidly and the great and interesting deeds in which he was, by the will of the party, an active although not always noticeable fighter.

In this connection I recall the following episode. I was once vacationing in "The Pines" sanatorium near Moscow. One day I began condemning with somewhat excessive emotion those who had provided themselves with dachas and garden plots which I thought overly large. Then old Communists suggested: "Why are you making a fuss? We had better go over to Nikolina Gora—there you will see what the dachas are like."

And we went. The dachas there really do resemble the stately homes whose descriptions are encountered in works by the Russian classic writers. Just behind the fence there stands a large wooden house—rich country folk used to live in such houses—while in the distance in spacious parkland you can see a two-story mansion, in comparison with which the house by the fence looks like a little kennel. The mansion belongs to the widow of a great writer who produced, inter alia, an impressive picture of the processes occurring in the postrevolutionary countryside. The widow who now lives in the mansion is a well known Soviet writer, and those who serve her live in the wooden house. I walked around Nikolina Gora and was considerably surprised at the modern houseowners. But bewilderment is aroused not by the fact that mansions have been built for a great writer, a famous actress, or a well known chess player. They got them by the sweat of their brow, as it were. But is it fair that after their death these same benefits are enjoyed by their descendants who have not put a single atom of their own labor into an asset of the whole people? Should we revive something like rentiers who exploit the labor of their worthy, working forebears and are served by modern working people? How many such palaces have proliferated in Moscow Oblast for the modern gentry, who are frequently still quite young. [the last two sentences are omitted in second edition]

The poisoned arrows being shot at party workers are not just attacks by uninformed people. I believe this is a quite deliberate desire to cast aspersions on party cadres, to sow confusion among them, to weaken their combat mood, and to reduce principledness in the struggle against various kinds of deviations from Soviet legal and moral norms.

Not the least place in these attacks is also evidently occupied by the desire to divert party cadres from strenuous work on restructuring and the struggle for its triumph and to make them waste time and effort on justifying themselves and defending themselves against unsubstantiated attacks and charges.

For this skillful use is made of instances of abuses, corruption, and exceeding of authority, which party members themselves have exposed in their own house. An attempt to weaken the party's self-purging function

can clearly be seen here. And yet this function must increase constantly, for dishonest people also seek to attach themselves to the ruling party. The stagnation period unfortunately provided much evidence of this.

It is noteworthy that hardly any mention is made of privileges for other categories of workers.

I once went to Novosibirsk Akademgorodok for the first time. Pointing to a two-story cottage, the comrade accompanying us said:

"That is the home of Academician A... Twelve rooms, 2 cars, earnings of over R2,000. And that cottage is the home of Academician Z... Eight rooms, a Volga car, a salary of approximately R1,500."

Then our guide led us over to multiapartment modern blocks and announced:

"And this is our 'Harlem.' Doctors and candidates of sciences live here. They have a salary of R500-600."

I admit that the guide did not see the expected reaction from us. The Soviet state has never stinted on the pay of intelligent scientists, and, as a rule, they have repaid this concern many times over. Although we party workers earn far less, we feel no envy. Real highly skilled work must be properly appreciated.

You sometimes wonder: Is it easy to make a living in the party? It is common to work 12-14 hours or more, without Saturdays and frequently even Sundays off. I know that cardiovascular diseases are widespread among party workers. Medical establishments are needed for them too, just as there are hospitals for writers and scientists, at enterprises, and in scientific research institutes.

Are knowledge and experience not required of the party worker? You do not get a strong party worker without modern knowledge and good schooling in life and politics.

I believe that all the idle talk about party workers' "special" privileges will vanish if they are made public. But it is hardly worth stopping there. It will be fair if people in our now open society learn of the actual incomes of writers, performers, composers, academicians, gold extractors, and other cooperative members. If we are to have openness, it must be openness to the end. No, I am not against high, very high earnings. The chief thing is that big money must be earned honestly, by labor. And only by labor.

I very much hope that space will be found in the newspaper's pages for these views.

Cooperative Movement Helped by Tax Changes

LD0208183688 Moscow TASS in English 1642 GMT 2 Aug 88

["Error Corrected, Cooperation Movement Develops"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—TASS correspondent Boris Prokhorov writes:

The commission of deputies registering new cooperatives was busier yesterday and today than on the previous days, it was learnt at the Moscow City Soviet. This is a direct result of abbrogation of high progressive taxation on cooperators. The decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet not just halts the levying of inordinately high taxes on cooperators, but also stipulates that the incomes of cooperators be taxed at the same level as those of factory and office workers. It should be noted that average norm of taxation for them is less than ten per cent, with the maximum tax amounting to 13 per cent.

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet cancelled the operation of its own decree for the reason that the Ministry of Finance which had proposed it cared more for replenishing the budget than for the development of the cooperative movement. But the departmental approach to the problem resulted in a serious damage for society. Now, after the public intervened, common sense prevailed: Vigorous development of the cooperative movement suits the country's interests in a greater degree than an extra million in the state budget today.

The very dynamic of the development of cooperative movement attests to the necessity of cooperatives. It should be recalled that there were just a few cooperatives in the USSR early in 1987. By the beginning of 1988, nearly 14,000 cooperatives in the USSR united over 150,000 people. And in the six months of the current year, the number of cooperatives trebled, and this at a time when a steep progressive tax, containing the development of the cooperative movement was introduced.

The overall tendency is confirmed by the data on the development of cooperatives in Moscow. Within the past year some 300 cooperatives functioning in Moscow turned out products and rendered services to a sum of 12.8 million roubles, while 1,300 cooperatives of Moscow in the first six months of the current year produced goods and rendered services to 66 million roubles. And this is just the beginning. Economists estimated that the number of cooperatives should be increased ten-fold if only the first requirements of Muscovites be met.

As was expected, the mass of cooperators concentrated their efforts on manufacturing consumer goods and rendering services. There exist in the country, however, cooperatives of programmers, ecologists, specialists in electronic equipment, who render important services to

state enterprises. Some cooperatives servicing the population acquire complex equipment, including heavy-duty trucks. Cooperative "Volna" in Archangels bought a refrigerating trawler from a fishermen's economy and started carrying southern fruit and vegetables to settlements and villages on the coast of the White Sea.

Council To Consider Place-Name Restoration

LD0308052088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0330 GMT 2 Aug 88

[Text] A toponymy council attached to the Soviet Culture Fund has been set up at public initiative. It will be engaged in the protection, restoration, and regulation of geographic names. Letters have been sent in from inhabitants of Kuybyshev, Kirov, Zhdanov, Kalinin, and Gorkiy, proposing that their cities be given back their old names. In the near future, the leaders of the organization intend to address a proposal to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which will include these renamings.

Young Historians To Set Up New Group

PM0408131188 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jul 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Time for Quest and Hope"]

[Text] As already reported, the Komsomol Central Committee has backed the initiative by a group of young historians and the All-Union Council of Young Scientists and Specialists to set up a professional association of historians. A meeting of young historians from academic institutes, VUZ's, schools, and cultural and educational institutions held in mid-July in the "Olimpiyets" Youth Center was devoted to a discussion of questions concerning its creation.

Famous older-generation historians took part in the young historians' debates: A.A. Iskenderov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and editor of the journal VOPROSY ISTORII; Professor A.O. Chubaryan, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of General History; Prof S.O. Shmidt, chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Ancient Manuscripts Commission; Prof Yu.N. Afanasyev, rector of the Moscow Historical Archives Institute; Doctor of Historical Sciences A.N. Sakharov, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences History of the USSR Institute; Doctor of Historical Sciences V.A. Tishkov, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Ethnography Institute; and others.

A detailed discussion took place about the objectives, organizational principles, and specific ways for the creation of the Soviet Association of Young Historians, all present being unanimous about the need for it. It was decided to hold the association's constituent conference in December this year. An organizing committee chaired by Komsomol Central Committee Secretary N. Paltsev was instructed to carry out preparations for the conference.

The participants in the meeting adopted an address to their colleagues.

To the Country's Young Historians [subhead]

We appeal to you today to back the idea of creating in our country a professional association of young historians, pedagogues, creative and museum workers, and archivists—in short, of all who have adopted creative labor in the sphere of history as the goal and meaning of their lives.

The restructuring of all aspects of Soviet society's life, the rejection of the dogmatic approach toward the solution of long overdue sociopolitical tasks, and the need for a genuinely scientific analysis of the causes and roots of many tragic events in our country's past and of their influence on Soviet society's subsequent development—all this determines a significant enhancement of the role played by historical science and its responsibility to society.

The social ills which have struck society can be cured only by relying on the historical experience accumulated by the USSR peoples and all mankind. Only by mastering the wealth of humanitarian culture and the ethical and aesthetic values created by many generations of people will it become possible to build on our planet, together with other countries, a new humanitarian community, in other words a genuinely humane community based on mutual respect and cooperation. It is for precisely this reason that a special responsibility is borne today by the humanitarian intelligentsia and historians, and the knowledge of history is being transformed from a purely academic pursuit into a universal social need.

Serious negative trends were clearly manifested in the development of Soviet historical science and the social perception of history. Many professional historians are still unable to overcome dogmatism and inertia or to give up the stereotypes of the stagnation period. Flaws like monopolism by individual schools and groups of historians, narrow professional horizons, and poor research standards have developed in historical science. A favorable basis for these phenomena is created by the simplistic schematic views of history which prevail in society, the poor standards of historical awareness among a sizable proportion of Soviet people, and ignorance of or a scornful attitude toward historical and cultural values of the USSR peoples.

The young historians, feeling particularly responsible for the fate of historical science, believe that the Soviet Association of Young Historians could become an organization helping the decisive restructuring of this branch of knowledge, the popularization of historical science, and the cultivation of internationalism, patriotism, and civic-mindedness. The association's important tasks would include assistance in creative quest, elimination of territorial and departmental barriers between historians, and acceleration of their scientific growth. The

Soviet Association of Young Historians will support any healthy initiative in the sphere of research into the past, the teaching of historical disciplines in secondary and higher schools, the study of the cultural heritage of past ages, the collection and preservation of historical evidence, the preservation and utilization of ancient monuments, local history, excursion and museum work, the artistic interpretation of past experience, and young people's education in the best traditions of the Soviet Union's peoples, in the spirit of respect for other states' history and culture.

The Soviet Association of Young Historians will struggle to establish effective public monitoring of the activity of management organs in archives, museums, and libraries and to raise the standards of technical support for historical research.

One thing is beyond all doubt today: Many young historians in the Soviet Union are striving to devote all their energy to the cause of restructuring, and their organizational unification must provide a means for attaining this goal. A local base for the Soviet Association of Young Historians could be provided by the current councils of young historians at USSR Academy of Sciences Institutes and VUZ faculties of history, and so on, as well as by other primary organizations like seminars, commissions, task groups, and sociopolitical clubs and sections. Existing organizations of young historians in union republics, krays, oblasts, cities, and so on wishing to join the Soviet Association of Young Historians will independently decide the question of forms of membership of the association.

It is planned to hold the constituent conference of the Soviet Association of Young Historians in December 1988. The participants in the meeting appeal to all historians who consider themselves young to create local primary organizations of the association to work along all aforementioned avenues. An organizing committee has been formed to prepare for the constituent conference. Its address is as follows: 103982 Moscow, 3/13 B. Khmelnitskiy Street, Komsomol Central Committee, or: 117036 Moscow, 19 Dm. Ulyanov Street. The participants in the meeting ask that all suggestions and wishes concerning the goals and tasks of the association, its status and structure, its statute and membership, and the rules and procedure at its constituent conference be sent to the organizing committee. All proposals will be examined and taken into account. Young historians' organizations set up at local level can send applications to participate in the creation and activity of the Soviet Association of Young Historians.

Viewers Urge Punishment of Beria 'Assistants'

LD0408214288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1905 GMT 4 Aug 88

[From the "World Today" program, presented by Igor Fesunenko]

[Text] Greetings, comrades. Quite a number of letters have reached us concerning the edition of "The World Today" which I presented on 22 June, the day when we recall the attack on our country by fascist Germany. The program mentioned the fact that in October 1941—when the enemy was at the walls of Moscow and was approaching Leningrad, when the fate of the motherland was, literally, hanging on a thread—in the torture-chambers of the NKVD they were continuing to torture a large group of commanders and commissars of the Red Army, of whom there was a great shortage at the fronts, and then, in October 1941, they shot them on false accusations. This has been reported in our press. It has also been reported that some of the investigators and officials of Beria's former special services who were involved in that crime are still at liberty and cannot be brought to account, because of the period which has elapsed since the crime.

And now, a whole group of viewers—including war and labor veterans, such as Comrades Rutgeyzer from Poltava, Georgiy Mikhaylovich Zhuravlyev, a war invalid from Ust-Donetskiy, Vasiliy Stetsenko, Kosinelnikova, a pensioner from Perm, and many others are most deeply indignant at this situation. Many of them insist on a review of penal legislation in this regard, in this section. [video shows letters spread out on table]

Such a thing must not be forgiven, despite the long period of time, writes Comrade Yerokhov from Lobnya, a former pilot and participant in the war, who received injuries and was decorated for bravery in battle and later served in Polar aviation. He believes that such crimes cannot be forgiven. He is convinced that it is necessary to expose the crimes, not only of Stalin, but of his assistants too. The party has adopted the current course of restructuring in all spheres of our society, he writes; and so, it is necessary not only to put glasnost into practice, but to defend it as well.

Now, in connection with the fact that a wide discussion is taking place in our country on reviewing and restructuring the legal system, I would like to bring the opinions of many viewers to the notice of the public and the organizations which are engaged in this work: there can be no period of limitation for the assistants of Beria, the former Stalinist people's commissar, who tortured and killed with their own hands people who were not guilty of anything.

Readers' Letters Respond to Adylov Case

PM0408115088 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Aug 88 p 13

[Vladimir Sokolov article based on readers' letters in response to the article "Zone of Silence," plus interview with B.Ye. Sviderskiy, senior investigator for important cases under the USSR general prosecutor: "We Will Not Keep Quiet!"]

[Excerpts] "I heard from a friend about the article 'Zone of Silence' in your newspaper. In the evening we read it aloud, as a family. We were depressed. Terribly. You will probably receive a whole heap of indignant letters—

'How can you print things like that!'. All the same, our thanks and compliments to the editorial office for that article. I think it will be a turning point in the honest analysis of our country's history and the recognition that, in the guise of communism, we built something entirely different. This is painful, but without understanding the realities we will not build communism.

"Both the older generation and we 30-year-olds approve the appearance of this painful, frank article. You cannot rewrite your country's history, but if you are to improve it, you need the truth. [Signed] The Bykov family."

"I have been a CPSU member since 1945. I have fought and been hospitalized—I know moral and physical pain. But on reading 'Zone of Silence,' I felt the pain of terrible anxiety for the future of my country, my people and society. M. Plotnikov."

The mail in response to the article "Zone of Silence" (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 20 January 1988) is not only vast—it is so emotional that you can see that the article touched a nerve that directs vitally important functions of our social organism. Horror, grief, repulsion, and anger are described in the letters as mere empty words compared with the feeling aroused in readers by the description of daily life at the Pap Lenin Agrarian-Industrial Association—which was famed for years as a model of the socialist economy, while its leader Akhmadzhan Adylov (Odilov in the Uzbek alphabet) was decorated with the country's highest awards. And virtually every letter contains the questions: Why did it happen? Who is to blame? What can be done to avoid a repetition of the tragedy?

The thrust of the majority's questioning is succinctly defined by O. Zheglova, a reader from Moscow Oblast: "In my opinion, what happened in Gurumsaray is the logical consequence of the political system that had grown up in our country."

Why? [subhead]

"Because," Muscovite S. Shabrodin replies unhesitatingly, "basically both 'Brezhnevism' and, still more, 'Stalinism' were vestiges of the Middle Ages. And in what way did Stalin really differ from Adylov? Our medieval rulers had a totally distorted idea of people's power—the power of the most honorable, the most educated, the most just." D. Voronin, a geologist from Leningrad, also projects onto the Middle Ages the administrative structure of the time of stagnation: "The party bey is accountable only to the party leader above him, who, within his territory, is also a bey, or else an emir, and therefore they understand one another very well. Not for nothing was Emir Rashidov on friendly terms with Bey Adylov, and Khan Brezhnev had a hand in it too. All these are recurrences of Stalinism. I believe only democratization would save us from the senseless and costly fluctuations from one extreme to the other, as in this case—from socialism all the way to feudalism. The party should prove its right to manage every day, not merely assert it constitutionally." "Lenin warned," E. Kachanov (Chernovtsy) reminds us, "that a monopoly of anything leads to degeneration. The crimes of office committed by the Adylovs and the Churbanovs are natural in the conditions of a bureaucratic monopoly of power and of the information media and in the absence of democratic principles in the state."

Some readers think that only a multiparty system would have prevented the pyramid of abuses from beginning to grow, but how could the number of parties in itself remedy anything in these conditions? True, the party "should prove its right to manage every day," but it should be proving it not to another party or to its own general secretary, but to the people, and here the decisive factor is not so much the number of parties as the quality of democracy.

This is how that quality at present is defined by kindergarten teacher L. Shatalina from Yakutia: "How can we develop real democracy, if the working people are dependent on people who hold office, while reciprocal dependence does not exist? Until leaders at all levels are answerable to the people for their actions, and answer to them face to face, we will go on having 'zones of silence,' big and small."

I think it is this—placing leaders at all levels before the people, face to face—that should be the aim of the reform of the political system approved by the 19th party conference. If one person combining two posts, a party and a soviet post, ensures the "reciprocal dependence" of the leader on the working people, it will work. But if a vote of confidence from the soviets becomes just another political fiction, then not only will the reform misfire, but the might of the local princelings could even increase.

Who Is To Blame? [subhead]

Naturally, taking into account the social psychology of the locality and the mood of those years does nothing to lessen the responsibility of those individuals, and also institutions, whose duty it was to prevent the violation of the constitutional rights of other, far more numerous individuals, and also other institutions. Here the readers make their point fairly bluntly. A. Shamilov from Nakhichevan, for instance: "Was it Rashidov alone who created the conditions for Adylovism? Of course not! Dozens of complaints were undoubtedly sent from that rayon to the USSR MVD, the USSR Prosecutor's Office, the KGB, the central newspapers, and other organizations. Officials carried out investigations on the spot and compiled reports showing that everything was in order and the facts had not been confirmed. And those officials are still in high office and are once again creating the conditions for Adylovism. Why not name them? I think the press workers, especially those who enjoy prestige, share considerable blame for the flourishing of Adylovism."

A. Shamilov is right—there were complaints to the newspapers, and to the bodies he lists. There were investigations, including some by the forces of the USSR Prosecutor's Office. One specially formed commission, in early 1982, was headed by I. Usmankhodzhayev, who at that time held the post of chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. And? "The facts were not confirmed," because at that time the course of any investigation and its results were predetermined not by the law, but by personal attitudes to what was being investigated.

Alas, this applies not only to administrators, who were tied to Adylov by bonds of long-standing friendship. Writers and journalists also turned involuntarily into investigators, staying in Adylov's domain as guests and then rapidly churning out lyrical sketches, movies, and even, just imagine it, novels. How could they fail to see the strangely deserted streets of Gurumsaray and the strangely crowded construction project of the "vegetable stores," what right had they to fail to distinguish the rich abundance of Adylov's feats from the peasant's modest table bearing tea and a flat cake?

People write to us from Uzbekistan that they stopped believing LITERATURNAYA GAZETA after D. Kalinovskaya's sketch lauding Adylov, and they write that they suspect the author of self-interest, because even then they knew about the nature of her hero and his ability to "show his gratitude." The whole republic knew. And it stopped believing OGONEK, NEDELYA, two-page spreads in the magazine SOVETSKIY SOYUZ, stopped believing formerly respected newspapers, because it saw how false their praise was.

And one would like to imagine the following picture: B.Ye. Sviderskiy, the investigator conducting Adylov's case, is approached one after another by masters of the movie camera and the pen, chairmen of former commissions, and pseudo people's control officials, all saying the same thing: "Boris Yevgenyevich, take the sin from my soul, I cannot go on living! It was I who supported Adylov by writing an article when his position was becoming unsteady. It was I who dismissed a complaint against him—'the facts were not confirmed.' It was I, on his instructions, who expelled dedicated people from the party. It was I who appealed... It was I who praised... It was I who kept silent..." If the law forgives people who voluntarily declare that they have given a bribe and voluntarily return what they have stolen, surely it will forgive these people? In exchange, there is repentance, in exchange, there is the lifting of a shameful burden from the soul, in exchange, there is the lightening of the conscience...

Will anyone come? Will anyone even write? Not likely. Well, let it pass. What is to be done next? For the majority of readers who have responded that is the main question, because nobody wants to experience a repetition of Adylovism.

"We need glasnost and more glasnost! Adylovs appear where all is calm and quiet, where people are afraid to wash their dirty linen in public" (war and labor veteran A. Kryshkin, "Rostovskiy" Sovkhoz, Rostov Oblast). "Our hope is in the Law on the State Enterprise, glasnost, and democracy. The replaceability of leaders of party and soviet organs must be established. At any level—a maximum of two elected terms, and goodbye, however outstanding you are!" (A. Razumikhin, Moscow).

War veteran I. Vasilenko considers it necessary to warn: "If restructuring does not affect the sphere of power, if the people are not guaranteed control of the activity of the state apparatus and the right to recall leaders, if true people's power is not ensured in the state, it will be impossible to revive the masses' political activeness, and the revolution will not happen."

Yes, of course, the masses' political passivity is the nutrient medium for Adylovism, as for any kind of tyranny. But counting on self-education by the millions, whose self-respect was trampled out of them over the decades, is utopian, as is counting on reeducating them by propaganda means alone. The very conditions of life of millions of peasants and workers must be changed, they must finally feel firm ground beneath their feet, the basis for self-respect—ownership of the means of production. It does not matter whether this takes the form of indefinite leasing of the land, shares in kolkhozes and enterprises, and so on—what matters is for ownership to be transferred from the official to the working person. [passage omitted]

Justice and Blood Lust [subhead]

It is also apposite to mention an unpleasant peculiarity of the readers' letters. Time and again civic indignation, sometimes wrapped in politically mature formulas, culminates in the demand that the "hero" of the article be shot without fail, and in public, at that. Citizens, what is the matter with us? Is it not time we realized that the days have gone when people were "sentenced" on the basis of a satirical article? That only the court has the right to determine the measure of a person's guilt and the measure of his punishment? The article speaks frankly and clearly of this, yet all the same—"put him against the wall!" Why are we deciding for the court? Why this certainty, in any case, that the best way to prevent a repetition is executions, and public ones, at that? Is it not because we ourselves have not entirely escaped from the Middle Ages yet? Everyone should have his deserts, that is axiomatic, but you cannot eradicate cruelty with cruelty! The court will apportion everything according to what is laid down, and what we should think about is this—what would Adylov have been like, if he had worked in the conditions of principled, effective party control, if he had held the same post, but under a fundamentally honest economic mechanism. [passage omitted]

By arresting Adylov, the authorities have had their say, the organs of law and order have proved that they are stronger than "brute force" and personal bodyguards. But the law has not yet had its say. And the mail includes many questions about this: Why is the investigation taking so long?

I asked B.Ye. Sviderskiy, senior investigator for important cases under the USSR general prosecutor.

"Let me explain, not for the first time," Boris Yevgenyevich replied, "that in this case nothing would be easier than to collect in 2-3 months sufficient evidence to impose the severest sentence. In fact, that is what the former local leaders proposed from the outset, when they objected to the USSR Prosecutor's Office handling Adylov's case. Too many people in the republic had a vital interest in permanently silencing such a well informed man as Adylov. How could we do that? Even the initial information on the Adylov case showed that he is virtually unequalled in our country's experience in terms of the scope of his unlawful actions. Our investigation only confirms this. More than 100 expert reports and reviews have been drawn up on the Adylov case and more than 70 criminal cases have been identified and investigated in connection with his accomplices at various levels of the state apparatus throughout Uzbekistan and also in the Baltic region, Western Siberia, and Moscow. We are rehabilitating many people who were repressed under Adylov. The material damage done to the state by Adylov's 'economic management' is estimated at tens of millions of rubles, but the most important thing, we are convinced, is the moral and poltiical damage done to Uzbekistan, and indeed to the whole country, by this man's many years of activity. The investigation has established Adylov's significant role in the creation of the negative phenomena that complicated the republic's life, a role closely linked and comparable with that of Rashidov himself.

"Our work, I can tell your readers, is nearing completion.

"I would like to say something about glasnost. The article 'Zone of Silence' played an exceptional role in cleaning up the moral atmosphere in Uzbekistan. The same goal should be served by the movie 'Chronicle of When Time Stood Still,' illustrating your article, which we have repeatedly been promised by Central Television. I think if you can cover Adylov's trial, that would be an important social lesson."

From the editorial office: We intend to cover the trial. On the subject of the benefits of glasnost, we would like to add: After the publication of the article the case of Dzhabbarali Batyrov, the story of whose sufferings was the starting point for "Zone of Silence," was reviewed by the Namangan Oblast Prosecutor's Office. He was fully rehabilitated.

Psychiatric Hospital Chief Interviewed

LD0108140788 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1900 GMT on 31 July, during the "Before and After Midnight" program, carries a 5-minute video report by journalist Irina Zaytseva about a hospital for the mentally ill.

In the opening sequence Zaytseva is shown standing in front of an old building with iron-barred windows; a man in a blue overalls can be seen sitting on a windowsill. Zaytseva says: "An opinion has been widespread for many years that mentally ill people are a blemish on our society and that journalists should not write about them. But today the situation is different. This year a decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium endorsed regulations on the rules of providing psychiatric help. We are in a special psychiatric hospital with strict supervision in Leningrad. In the near future this clinic will be transferred from the authority of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs to the USSR Ministry of Health. This is not an ordinary psychiatric hospital as it is accomodated in a former women's prison." The camera shows inmates playing volleyball in the hospital yard. Zaytseva goes on to say that the inmates are socially dangerous because, as a result of their illness, they have committed serious crimes and have been sent here by courts. Doctors think that proper drugs and care can help these patients. Zaytseva says that occupational therapy also has beneficial effects while the video shows inmates working in workshops. Yet there are many relapse cases because, once outside the hospital, former inmates lack the necessary attention and care from their social environment.

The following conversation then takes place between Zaytseva and Viktor Dmitriyevich Ostyashkin, chief doctor of the hospital:

"[Zaytseva] But here is a different question. Have only mentally ill people been committed to this hospital? Have there been cases when people were put here without proper grounds for hospitalization?

"[Ostyashkin] As far as our hospital is concerned, I do not know about such cases.

"[Zaytseva] In the seventies, Western journalists used to write that sometimes people belonging to the category of dissidents were put into clinics of this type. I am asking this question to find out if it is true; is it true that in the sixties and seventies dissension [inakomysliye] was regarded as a form of schizophrenia?

"[Ostyashkin] Perhaps one should not put the question this way. It would be hardly correct to say that dissention was directly called a form of schizophrenia. But it probably was regarded as such, indeed, as a symptom of the illness in individual cases, no more, as a symptom of the illness along with other symptoms inherent in this illness.

"[Zaytseva] Yes, a new decision is adopted now; it is provisional but probably it will become a permanent one. Are these decisions and laws capable of raising the prestige of the psychiatrist? What do you think about it?

"[Ostyashkin] First of all, this is a matter for the psychiatrist himself. It is a question of his conscience, his attitude to his work and patients. I think that psychiatrists' work is the most humane one in the area of medicine, yet certain people can use it as an axe.

"[Zaytseva] Yes, at the moment we are not prepared to accept mentally ill people back into society. We do not wait for them, and we are afraid when they are among us. These problems are waiting to be solved. They are in evidence not only in this medical institution but also in other psychiatric hospitals, and in this entire sphere of medicine.

"[Ostyashkin] It is not true that only psychiatrists are so bad and violate people's rights. Society, too, has shut itself off from psychiatric hospitals and has shut them off from public organizations."

Zaytseva concludes the item by quoting Chekhov's prophesies from Ward No. 6.

Monument Erected to Marshal Tukhachevskiy

PM0408134588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
1 Aug 88 Second Edition p 2

[Correspondent N. Senchev report: "Erected by Fellow Countrymen"]

[Text] Penza, 31 Jul—The country's first monument to Marshal of the Soviet Union Mikhail Tukhachevskiy has been erected in Kamenskiy Rayon. Fellow countrymen of the military leader and guests from other oblasts and republics of the country gathered for a rally devoted to its unveiling. They included Nina Stepanovna Tukhachevskaya, the marshal's granddaughter.

The Penza area has links with many pages in the military leader's biography. Here he grew up, studied, and made his first friends. Here too he formed units of the Eastern Front's 1st Army, which he led in the offensive against Simbirsk and Syzran. The civil war ended for him on Penza soil when Red Army regiments under his command scattered Antonov's insurgent detachments.

The monument to the marshal has been erected by his fellow countrymen.

Health Care Resolution Counter to Provisions

PM0408144588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Aug 88 Second Edition p 1

["Letter to the Newspaper" by M. Raman, chairman of the Latvian SSR Gosplan: "Commands Again...."—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] An account of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Measures To Further Improve the Protection of the Population's Health and Strengthen the Material and Technical Base of Health Care" was published in the press recently.

This resolution affected us, too. It has more than 40 appendices, which from 1989 through 1995 assign tasks in all areas: from the production of vitamins and food products for mass consumption to the introduction of computer technology in health care organizations and institutions. It even mentioned how many places to provide in student canteens, how many pharmacies to open....

But I have before me the "Basic Provisions for the Fundamental Restructuring of the Management of the Economy," approved by the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum, which envisages in section four the optimum combination of the sectoral and territorial principles of economic management. In 1989 and 1990 it is planned that in a number of regions there will be an experiment in which the republic's budget will be formed on the basis of the normative of profit and other types of revenue and as of the next 5-year plan on the basis of the normative for the national income produced on the republic's territory. When discussing the mechanism of this progressive approach to the formation of the republic's material resources with S. Sitaryan and L. Vid, deputy chairmen of the USSR Gosplan, it was determined that the Latvian SSR has complete freedom of action in the use of resources and distributes them in the light of the actual situation and the long-term tasks. This primarily territorial form of planning is subsequently applied at city and rayon level.

That is why we issued to rayons and cities of republic jurisdiction the overall control figure for quotas of capital investments and construction and assembly work for the 13th 5-Year Plan. This was done to enable local organs of power to independently formulate their proposals for the construction of facilities in the social and production infrastructure. The Latvian SSR Gosplan has already received local-level proposals. But now a command has been issued from on high decreeing what, when, and how things must be built and organized.

Need it be said that all this shackles the initiative of local soviets.

What specifically are we proposing? In accordance with the operation of the new mechanism for the formation of the republic's financial resources and the transfer to the

principles of economic accountability, resources are to be allocated initially without targets for their use—as a single figure—and subsequently in terms of the normative of national income for all facilities in the social and production infrastructure—also as a single figure. Perhaps the mechanism will be different—research in this area is only just beginning. But it must correspond to the task set in the party conference Resolution "On National Relations." This is primarily a question of expanding the rights of union republics and autonomous formations by delimiting the powers of the USSR and the soviet republics, transferring a number of administrative functions to the localities, and increasing their independence and responsibility in the sphere of the economy, social and cultural development, and nature protection.

Worker Dies in Fertilizer Plant Blast

PM0408142788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jul 88 Second Edition p 6

[Correspondent N. Kireyev report under the rubric "Extraordinary Situation": "In the Newspaper—12 Lines...."]

[Text] Tula—Contradictory rumors spread around Tula. It was said that there had been a big explosion on the territory of Shchekino's "Azot" Association. There were casualties.

I will at once make the reservation that, according to a statement by G. Kobyakova, chief of the Yasnaya Polyana atmospheric pollution monitoring group, the background here was no different to usual on 13 July.

"There was no explosion," Yu. Davydov, the association's director, explained. "Specialists defined what happened as a bang...."

So what happened at "Azot"? Repairs were being carried out to one of three storage tanks in the intermediate storehouse of the caprolactam-producing shop. Each tank contains 300 cubic meters of sulfuric acid.

Water penetrated one of the tanks. Heat began to be generated in it, and the pressure rose. When it reached its maximum, the tank's 8-tonne cover blew off as though from a cannon, demolished the ferroconcrete ceiling, and tore away the roof. The people who were in the building noticed the reaction in the tank too late. Still they managed to leave the building, but the blast caught fitter G. Konovalov. Physicians were powerless.

A commission has now completed its investigation. It met with those who directly witnessed the tragedy: instrument control man S. Bynyayev, who has already returned to work, and technologist G. Dulchenko, who is undergoing a course of treatment. The case has now been passed to the prosecutor's office, which will determine who was to blame for the accident.

But not only this is alarming now. We got into conversation with G. Dulchenko, whom, incidentally, IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Pushkar and I drove to the medical center (he was in a hurry to get there for treatment and had been trying unsuccessfully to get there by public transport). The association's director had driven past and noticed this limping man, who could not see out of one eye, but...did not stop. We turned round and helped the patient into the car. And this is what we learned. G. Konovalov could have been saved if he had not been wearing synthetic coveralls. They literally melted on the fitter's body when he tried to get out from under the fragments of ceiling by crawling through a pool of sulfuric acid. Dulchenko suffered less only because he was wearing woolen trousers, a helmet, and a jacket. All that was left of his synthetic socks were the pieces of elastic....

The rumors spread through Tula for one reason: KOMMUNAR, the oblast newspaper, did not say a single word about the tragedy at "Azot." The Shchekinskiy Rayon newspaper confined itself to publishing a 12-line report on what happened, carried on page 4 among the congratulatory messages and crosswords....

Briefs

Book Published

The Political Literature Publishing House has published a book entitled: "Scientific Biography of Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya" [nauchnaya biografiya nadezhdy Konstantinovnoy Krupskoy]. The author reveals her role in the creation and strengthening of the Bolshevik Party and in the political education of the masses, and shows her great contribution to the theory and practice of the cultural revolution in the USSR, to national education, and to the implementation of the Leninist plan for the building of socialism in the USSR. [Text] [*LD0308042988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0104 GMT 2 Aug 88*]

New Microrayon in Donetsk Oblast

A new microrayon named Yuzhnyy has been built in Druzhkovka in Donetsk Oblast. More than 15,000 people have received better planned flats there. [Summary] [*LD0208013688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 1 Aug 88*]

Agricultural

Floods Cause Field Damage in Buryat ASSR

LD0408024288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0000 GMT 4 Aug 88

[Text] A report from the Buryat ASSR: July was exceptionally rainy in this region. Many rivers burst their banks. According to data of the republican flood commission, 180 houses, 78 livestock buildings, and 29 bridges were damaged or destroyed. Losses amounting to

R19 million have been inflicted on the autonomous republic. The exceptionally difficult fodder-procurement situation can be explained by the abundance of rain and flooding. Tens of thousands of hectares of agricultural land have been submerged, including 25,000 hectares of hay fields. Certain rayons are only now beginning mowing work. The water has receded in recent days, but more rain is expected in the Buryat ASSR in August.

Regional Grain Harvest Disrupted by Weather
LD0408181988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 4 Aug 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; observer Anatoliy Ivashchenko report]

[Summary] It would seem that on such a vast territory as exists in our country, failures in some grain-growing areas should be compensated by successes in others. This in general was how it used to be, but starting from 1978, when our country gathered in a record harvest, this has not been repeated. For 10 years we have not had a single really abundant harvest. This year, drought has very much affected Siberia, northern Kazakhstan, and the Volga valley, while in the European part of the country, where there were very fine grain crops, there have been untimely rains. These rains have flattened the grain crops, and they are very difficult to harvest. Combines are having to pass over the same spot three or four times. The grain is reaching the threshing-floors in a very damp and clogged condition. In many instances it is even having to be dispatched to other oblasts.

There is indeed a real fight for the grain. Students and other helpers are on their way to assist with the threshing in the Ukraine and the North Caucasus. A complex situation is arising. Nevertheless, even in such a situation one must not permit panic or fuss. Nor are any of the former command methods apt here, whereby a great armada of equipment is set in motion, sweeping everything away along its path. This must not be, for this would depersonalize the labor of the contract and leasehold collectives. It is better for people to reach agreement among themselves regarding mutual assistance in this situation. This is a difficult time. What we need now are not triumphant reports, but a good grain harvest.

Servicemen Sent To Assist Stavropol Farmers
PM0408121588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Aug 88 First Edition p 1

[TASS correspondent N. Styazhkin: "If the Harvest Is Very Difficult"]

[Excerpts] This season the Stavropol kolkhozes and sovkhozes had planned to bring in the harvest solely through their own efforts. The calculation would have been justified had the bad weather not been a hindrance. Because of the constant rain accompanied by strong winds, the grain crops lay in water over thousands of hectares. Large tracts were beaten down by hail and torrential downpours which destroyed a considerable portion of the roads leading to the elevators and grain reception points.

The grain growers again had to turn to the servicemen for assistance. The command of the North Caucasus Military District responded promptly: Trucks driven by experienced drivers with the entire necessary operative and repair service were dispatched immediately to the steppe regions of Stavropol.

Immediately, as soon as they arrived, the motorized transport platoon under the commander of Senior Ensign G. Ivanov joined in the work. The venue for their "harvest deployment" was the "Druzhba" kolkhoz in Novoaleksandrovskiy Rayon.

The kolkhoz combine harvester operators are hastening to use every minute of good weather here. On some tracts of land they are having to be towed through the boggy fields by tractors on caterpillar tracks. [passage omitted]

On the "Druzhba" kolkhoz the servicemen were welcomed in a businesslike manner: They concluded an economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] contract for the fulfillment of a specific volume of shipments, provided food, and took concern for their leisure between shifts. The remuneration of labor was based on the rates established on the farm with an additional quality incentive. There was one principle: To earn well you have to work well. [passage omitted]

The kray agroprom does not conceal the fact that relations with the military subunits which have arrived are not taking shape smoothly everywhere. In a number of rayon agro-industrial associations the local comrades responsible have been slow to respond. Thus, on the "Ovtsevod" sovkhoz, Izobilnenskiy Rayon, the detailed platoon under the command of Captain A. Titarenko has essentially not been involved in bringing in the harvest. What is the reason?

"The sovkhoz seems to have invited us motor vehicle drivers just in case, to be doubly safe. Yet we covered about 1,000 km on the forced march to Stavropol. We burned tonnes of gasoline getting here," the platoon commander notes not without bitterness.

The servicemen are being provided with work on the sovkhoz—if only to get rid of them. The sovkhoz has refused categorically to conclude an economically accountable contract. As for food it has set the condition: Get it yourselves where you can. They are seeking "vindicating" reasons for everything.

Indeed, the Stavropol people have entirely legitimate complaints to level against the equipping of the platoons. The majority of the trucks which have arrived are

designed for small loads. The GAZ-66 trucks are indeed not adapted for agricultural shipments. Why send them hundreds of kilometers, expending tonnes of gasoline?

But even under these conditions the participation of the motor transport servicemen has still substantially accelerated the work.

Approval of New Model Kolkhoz Charter Reported
PM0508094788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Aug 88 First Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Charter Approved"]

[Text] A session of the Union Kolhoz Council in Moscow has approved a new Model Kolkhoz Charter.

The new Model Charter is intended to aid the revival of the essentially cooperative nature of kolkhozes and development of kolkhoz democracy. As is known, the Fourth All-Union Congress of Kolkhoz Members examined it, approved it as a basic document, and instructed the Union Kolkhoz Council to give final approval taking into account the discussion that had taken place and also the provisions of the Law "On the Cooperative System in the USSR."

In the course of the finalization of the document there were many proposals and observations from union republics' Kolkhoz Councils, as well as proposals from congress delegates—they have all been taken into account in the adopted charter. Norms determining economic independence and the inviolability of private property, based on the Law "On the Cooperative System in the USSR," constituted the large group of additions and amendments.

At the CPSU Central Committee July Plenum special emphasis was placed on the need to make all-around use of lease arrangements in the countryside. Therefore, the charter sets out new provisions on lease, collective, and family contracts as a sure way of providing sufficient food.

Council sections were formed at the Union Kolkhoz Council sessions, and their members were elected. I. Skiba, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agriculture and Food Industry Department, and senior officials of the USSR Gosagroprom and ministries and departments participated in the work of the Union Council.

Agricultural Developments for 2-3 Aug Noted

LD0408140288 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 2-3 August. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

2 August:

Tambov Oblast—Farms have sold 500,000 tonnes of grain to the state from the new harvest. This is more than half of this year's plan. (0204)

Winter crops are being harvested in the Altay, the dress rehearsal for harvesting the area's 4 million hectares of spring wheat. (Moscow Television Service in Russian, 0230)

Grain from the new harvest has started going to Volga region elevators. For the first time this year, Tolyatti inhabitants will be getting flour from their own grain base, where an automated mill has been built. Just 10 people per shift run the mill. Its productivity is 250 tonnes of flour per 24 hours. Tolyatti and the area around it will now no longer have to rely on flour brought in from other areas. In principle, the mill can produce flour of any quality for the town. The mill combine will reach planned capacity by the end of this year. (0400)

Don farmers are now selling the 3d million tonne of grain to the state. the quality of the 1,732,000 tonnes of strong and valuable types sold to the state in July brought in around an extra R50 million. (0600)

The 1st million tonnes of grain are now in storage in Volgograd Oblast. Dry cultivation has increased output, particularly with regard to winter crops, which are producing more than 30 quintals per hectare on intensively farmed lands. (0600)

To date, farmers in the Kalmyk ASSR have sold 115,000 tonnes of grain to state instead of the 100,000 tonnes out in the annual plan. Most of it is made up of strong and valuable varieties. (1100)

To date, more than 1.5 million tonnes of grain has been sold to the state in Volgograd Oblast. More than half of this amount is made up of strong and valuable varieties. (1400)

3 August:

Machine operators in south Uzbekistan have started harvesting corn grain; almost 120,000 hectares have been allocated to this crop in the republic. (0204)

Saratov Oblast—Farms in 20 rayons are selling grain to the state. To date, grain procurers have received 350,000 tonnes of winter rye and wheat. The selling of barley has begun. (0204)

Kirghiz SSR—Farmers in Issyk-Kul Oblast have begun harvesting grain. The harvest is a good one everywhere, with many farms planning to obtain no less than 40 quintals per hectare. (0400

Tambov Oblast farms have begun supplying early potatoes to industrial centers. (0600)

Tselinograd Oblast farmers are completing the mowing of hay. More than 1 million tonnes of hay has been procured and sent for winter storage. That is almost 90 percent of the plan. (0600)

Grain reception points in the Ukraine are taking in the 10 millionth tonne of grain today. Farms in Nikolayevsk Oblast are being particularly successful, but on the whole harvesting in the republic is lagging behind, which means that more grain is being lost. (1100)

Grain has been harvested on the 75 percent of all fields in the Ukraine. In southern oblasts, harvesting is drawing to a close. (1330)

The deputy chairman of the Shargorodskiy Rayon Agro-Industrial Association, Vinnitsa Oblast, explains how they are coping with the effects of bad weather, as this year 35 percent of all grain crops have been beaten down by rain. (1330)

Military

Admiral Discusses Navy Role, Activities

PM0308153388 Moscow TRUD in Russian 31 Jul 88 p 3

[Interview with Admiral K. Makarov, chief of the Navy Main Staff, by unnamed TRUD correspondent: "Flying the Motherland's Ensign. 31 July Is Soviet Navy Day"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Correspondent] The USSR is a great seagoing power with its own state interests in different oceans of the world. How does the Soviet Navy protect these interests?

[Makarov] You know that there are people in the West who seriously claim that the Soviet Union has no need for a powerful fleet because, according to them, it is a continental power. The Soviets, they say, maintain such a fleet for just one purpose—an aggressive purpose, of course. No matter how paradoxical it may sound, this is actually one of the arguments they use to prove the aggressiveness of our country, whose territory is, by the way, washed by 12 seas and 3 oceans and whose sea borders stretch over 47,000 km.

About "aggressiveness," since we are on the subject: I must say that our fleet, heir of glorious combat traditions, has never participated in aggressive actions. Our ships which now sail the world ocean threaten no one. They are there for a single purpose: to protect the motherland from the seas. It is well known that at present, in terms of its scale and tasks, the operational and combat training of naval forces of the United States and its allies goes beyond the framework of rehearsing defensive actions. This forces us to display vigilance and to maintain the Navy in a state of readiness to repulse aggression.

Our fleet also plays an important role in implementing the Soviet state's foreign policy actions aimed at achieving measures of trust and easing international tension. Moreover, it is important to stress that our Navy's entire activity in the world's oceans is based on the principles of the UN Charter and on strict and precise observance of current norms of international laws of the sea.

Other tasks could emerge, of course. For example, protection of Soviet fishing vessels in fishing areas or protection of our civilian shipping in international sea lanes such as, for instance, the Persian Gulf. As a matter of fact the number of Soviet ships, on the one hand, and ships belonging to the United States and its allies, on the other, bears no comparison in that region, and this reflects with utmost clarity the objectives pursued by the USSR and the United States there. The protection of our ships is undertaken, as a rule, by just a few ships, while the United States, having proclaimed the Persian Gulf a zone of its "vital interests" and pursuing far-reaching political goals there, has concentrated major carrier groups and operational missile task forces in the region.

[Correspondent] What is our fleet's structure? What could you say about our submarine forces?

[Makarov] The Soviet Navy is one branch of the USSR Armed Forces. Its basis is provided by nuclear submarines and high-mobility long-range naval aviation. Its composition also includes nuclear or conventionally powered surface ships of different classes armed with missile weapons, including aircraft-carrying ships, coastal missile artillery forces, and marine units.

People are, of course, the core of this combat system. While on the subject of the fleet's development, our main concern is to select, educate, and train cadres who are devoted to the people, highly competent, and capable of working in the spirit of restructuring and renewal. Our fleet's development is based on the principles of defensive sufficiency. We are not striving to achieve military superiority at sea, but neither can we ignore the real situation developing in different parts of the ocean.

Finally, about the notorious "aggressive orientation" of our submarine forces: This impression of them is forced on the public in Western countries by certain circles interested in reviving the "enemy image" which they have created and which is now melting away , and who are interested in discrediting the peace-loving orientation of the USSR foreign policy. Western figures making such statements deliberately omit the obvious fact that our submarine forces are a counterweight to the missile-carrying nuclear fleet of the United States and other NATO bloc member countries. It would not go amiss to recall the NATO bloc's considerable superiority over the Warsaw Pact Organization—almost threefold in major surface ships, two and a half-fold in naval aircraft, and twofold in total tonnage of naval ships. It must also be borne in mind that we lack powerful warships like aircraft carriers and battleships with long-range cruise missiles, designed also to strike against coastal targets.

[Correspondent] There has been a lot of talk recently about confidence-building measures in the naval sphere. In particular, this was discussed during the recent Soviet-U.S. summit talks. Questions of reducing the numbers of sea-launched cruise missiles [SLCM's] are also being discussed. We would like to know your opinion, Comrade Admiral.

[Makarov] The Soviet Union's initiatives in this regard were outlined by M.S. Gorbachev in his speeches in Vladivostok, Delhi, Murmansk, and Belgrade and in E.A. Shevardnadze's speech at the UN General Assembly third special session. These initiatives constitute a targeted comprehensive program of a global nature, taking into account the specific nature of particular regions. Even though certain steps have been taken along the path of implementing these measures, many obstacles still remain.

One of the fundamental questions is the limitation of SLCM's. This is a serious obstacle on the road toward an agreement on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive arms. It must be borne in mind that SLCM's are extremely dangerous arms whose proliferation in the world's oceans clearly destabilizes the strategic situation as a whole and increases the risk of an armed conflict being unleashed.

The achievement of accord on cruise missiles is prevented primarily by the stance of the United States, which, even though it does not deny in principle the need to limit SLCM's, is doing nothing practical in this sphere, citing the ineffectiveness of the monitoring system. We, on the other hand, believe that monitoring of SLCM's is possible. In order to monitor them, it is necessary to set up observation posts all along the missile's route from the time it leaves the manufacturing plant to its installation on a ship, including the point where combat charges are fitted. It would also be reasonable to set limitations on the number and type of warships on which they can be sited. Of course, provision must be made for the possibility of on-site inspection of missile installations on demand at any time. But the U.S. side rejects all these proposals.

For some reason the United States does not class SLCM's as strategic weapons and is using this as a pretext for excluding them from discussion on the limitation of strategic offensive arms. This cannot be accepted since long-range nuclear cruise missiles (with a yield of 200-250 kilotons and a range of 2,600 km) can reach the territory of the USSR from virtually all sea and ocean theaters. In short, SLCM's constitute a barrier which must be overcome in order to achieve a radical reduction of strategic offensive weapons.

[Correspondent] There has always been an aura of romanticism surrounding service in the fleet. How is today's generation of Soviet seamen coping with the ocean vigil?

[Makarov] I for one believe that it is lovers of the sea who serve in the fleet. What else could attract seamen to this service, which is hard and at times even dangerous? Months-long cruises in distant latitudes from the north to the south, often without any port calls to replenish stores, and for submariners even without surfacing. Long separations from families, a work day which stretches far beyond the conventional 8 hours... And of course, the supreme responsibility to the fatherland. And if you think of the weapons that ship commanders have to deal with, and their responsibility also to the world community. After all, a ship in the ocean is part of our country's inviolable territory and its commander is someone who has the right to make decisions on behalf of the state.

Let me return to the Persian Gulf. The ships that are there perform their tasks in conditions of the "tanker war," with combat operations by the combatant states and constant threat of mines, with all ensuing consequences. Add to this the merciless heat, with temperatures reaching 60 degrees at some combat stations, and you will get some impression of the conditions in which our seamen operate.

Briefly speaking, today's generation of Soviet seamen fittingly continues the traditions of frontline fighters. It is no accident that, in the postwar years alone, hundreds of the Navy's seamen have been awarded USSR orders and medals and more than 50 have become Heroes of the Soviet Union. Take for example the recent feat by sailor Sergey Preminin. At a crucial moment for the ship, and for the sake of performing the combat task, for the sake of saving people, he gave his life to do what was required of him—he shut down a submarine's reactor. You must agree that this is a feat to match the greatest feats of the Great Patriotic War, like that of Private Aleksandr Matrosov, for example...

Vice Admiral on Navy Political Work

PM0408140388 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 31 Jul 88 p2

[Correspondent D. Mysyakov interview with Vice Admiral V.I. Panin, member of the Military Council and chief of the USSR Navy Political Directorate, under the rubric "Today is USSR Navy Day": "Duty Location—the Ocean"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Mysyakov] If you have no objections, we will begin with political work in the Navy. What kind of person, in your view, should a political worker be? What is primarily required of him?

[Panin] Political work is complex work with people. Being a deputy commander in charge of political affairs has never been easy, and today it is even less so. Literally just a few years ago hardly anyone would have imagined he would have to work under completely new social conditions. It seems we had ready answers "packaged" into strict formulas to many difficult questions. The uniformity of opinions and appraisals presented by various authorities and the mass media simplified the

position of the political worker and, to a certain degree, eroded his individuality. The present ferment of discussion and diversity and freshness of ideas is the element of real political fighters and intelligent—I would say keen-witted—polemicists. The pluralism of opinions can only be welcomed, but how difficult it is for the young person to formulate and hold onto his own opinion in this kind of atmosphere. Today you can no longer hide behind generalities. The political worker has to get right to the heart of every phenomenon, every fact. There is a danger that he will become confused and lose his way. There is only one solution to this—Marxist-Leninist methodology, which the political worker must master to perfection and arm others with. He must also have an enormous love for people so that their joys and concerns really touch his heart. I would compare a deputy commander in charge of political affairs to a doctor. You know, at one time in Russia there were some remarkable local doctors who treated all their patients as if they were relatives and who lived their patients' pain and suffering with them. That is the kind of "home doctor" the good political worker is becoming for his subordinates.

[Mysyakov] But all this is the ideal, so to speak. What is the real situation? Are you satisfied with the performance of young political workers?

[Panin] On the whole, yes. Some quite good officers are coming out of the Kiev Higher Naval Political School. They know what they are doing and have the desire to work. But what worries me is this: Many of those who are perfectly confident in front of a large audience quite often become flustered when they simply have to talk candidly to a sailor on a one-to-one basis.

[Mysyakov] My next question will probably seem rather strange, but I shall ask it anyway. Are there bureaucrats in the Navy?

[Panin] There are still too many bureaucrats everywhere. You cannot separate the Armed Forces from society as a whole and see them as some isolated sphere. We have the same problems and the same concerns. I think that the resolution "On Combating Bureaucracy" adopted by the 19th all-union party conference is no less relevant to the Navy than to any other department.

[Mysyakov] I would be interested to know how Navy personnel reacted to the discussions at the conference and to its decisions?

[Panin] I can say with certainty that the fleet followed the conference work with the greatest attention. I reached this opinion following a recent meeting with seamen in the north. In the course of a single conversation I was asked more than 70 questions in my capacity as a delegate. And none of these questions was "formal." To tell the truth, I had not really been expecting this kind of activity, but I was very gratified by it. I had a frank, honest discussion with the seamen for about 3 hours. One of the subjects, incidentally, was bureaucracy.

[Mysyakov] The bureaucrat, as you well know, recognizes only one method of leadership—the high-handed, administrative style. The rejection of this method is now a fact of our life. However, as you know, this has always been the way with the military: Someone gives the orders and someone else obeys....

[Panin] And so it will continue. The principle of one-man command operates in armies all over the world and no one intends to reject it now. There is simply no other principle of troop control. But I would not attempt to set one-man command in opposition to the process of democratization which is now gathering momentum in the Armed Forces. When making a decision, the commander relies on the collective intellect. We do not have and cannot have anyone with unlimited power. Of course, in combat conditions, situations are likely to arise where everything will depend on the decision of one person empowered to make that decision. It goes without saying that this is an enormous responsibility. But combat management is one thing and everyday Army and Navy life in all its diversity is another—the social side in particular. Public opinion and glasnost are the real forces which can and must protect military collectives against bureaucracy and the arbitrary will of officials. [passage omitted]

[Mysyakov] Vasiliy Ivanovich, the latest Army and Navy draft took place recently. What can you say about the new recruits?

[Panin] I often hear the complaint that people come to us uneducated and morally lacking. Yes, we do have people who, before being drafted, acquired a criminal record or became too fond of alcohol or drugs. But it is all too easy to put the blame on schools, vocational and technical schools, and worthless predraft training. It is far more difficult to make these people—these "defectives"—into real men and defenders of the motherland. There is no reason to rail endlessly at draftees whenever it suits you. They are this, they are that.... It simply is not true! They are normal young men—intelligent, competent. Perhaps some of them do not immediately see themselves as military men and find it difficult to be subordinate to someone else's will and orders. But this just means that we must help them from the very start and give them support.

[Mysyakov] But sometimes this "help" takes very peculiar, even ugly forms. Of all the difficulties they experience in service, many young seamen put so-called "nonregulation relations" at the top of the list.

[Panin] This term has been invented simply in order to conceal what is really happening. I have a book here on the shelf—Internal Service Regulations. They regulate relations between servicemen. If you carefully read the first chapter you will see that "nonregulation" signifies a breach of military ethics and the rules of subordination in relations between senior personnel and their juniors.

But the humiliation of new recruits is something quite different. Let us call a spade a spade: Hooliganism is hooliganism and crime is crime. Then a great deal will fall into place. It becomes clear, for example, that the same incidents happen in the Army and Navy as in ordinary civilian life. People are just used to regarding these incidents as something out of the ordinary simply because it is the Army or Navy, you see. This is wrong. Everyone is equal in the eyes of the law whether they have shoulder bars or not.

I have no intention of claiming that the Navy is now free of "bullying." This miserable, corrupt tradition is still with us. An unhealthy atmosphere has taken shape in some naval collectives. So what should we do? The answer is obvious: We must fight it. But the way we choose to do this is very important. Intimidating orders? We have tried this and it has not helped very much. I, for one, am sure that not a great deal will be achieved with bans and threats. [passage omitted]

[Mysyakov] Reading letters from seamen, you can conclude that Komsomol organizations are not very actively involved in the fight against "bullying." Among all the reasons given for their "feebleness" you often hear one in particular: As a rule, the position of secretary on board ship is held by a young graduate from political school. Formal elections are held. One candidate is nominated on the recommendation of political bodies. Through force of habit everyone votes "for." And what can you do? You cannot leave the lieutenant without a job. But often he hardly knows the crew and no one knows him either. What kind of leader of young people is this?

[Panin] I cannot say you are wrong on this, unfortunately. We often still have "performances" instead of real elections. But I think we have found the solution to this. Why should this lieutenant definitely become secretary of the Komsomol organization? Let him work as an instructor, for example; his knowledge will be useful. Then, after a year, for example, he could offer himself as a candidate for the position of secretary. But there must definitely be other candidates as well. If he is elected that is all well and good, if not—that's life.

But generally we set great store by the Komsomol. These are young times we live in.

Destroyer Eludes NATO Ship in Exercise

PM0408145588 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 30 Jul 88 p 4

[Article by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Captain 2d Rank S. Turchenko exclusively for SELSKAYA ZHIZN under the rubric "31 July Is USSR Navy Day": "Watch on the Ocean"]

[Excerpts] The destroyer "Stoykiy" arrived early in the morning at the point where it was to rendezvous with the flagship of a detachment of Soviet warships in the Indian Ocean. As soon as it had dropped anchor, a launch filled with officers from voyage headquarters left the flagship. The officers were to check the crew's readiness to fulfill tasks in the Indian Ocean. The examination group was headed by Rear Admiral V. Sergeyev, the detachment commander.

I had taken part in such checks on numerous occasions, but it was a long time since I had seen such a strict and comprehensive one.

"First, the NATO navies have deployed powerful forces in the Indian Ocean," Rear Admiral Sergeyev said. "Our task is, when necessary, to parry any strike aimed at the USSR. Second, some of our detachment's ships are periodically diverted to fulfilling the tasks of defending civilian shipping in the Persian Gulf, where they have to operate under the conditions of the tanker war. That requires a high level of combat skill."

SELSKAYA ZHIZN has already described the Soviet warships' actions in the Persian Gulf. Our sailors' tours of duty in the Indian Ocean are no less complex and crucial. The extreme climatic conditions, augmented by the permanent fierce antagonism of the NATO ships, create in practice a stressful situation for the crews which does not cease for many months. Good moral and psychological tempering is also needed. These qualities are acquired only under difficult voyage conditions.

From the "Stoykiy's" first miles of sailing in the Indian Ocean, a NATO frigate "stuck" to it. It followed its every move or, not to beat around the bush, simply kept the destroyer constantly within its sights. But our sailors are acquiring increasing experience and often leave their pursuers looking like fools, as the saying goes.

So the "Stoykiy" was given the task of breaking away from the frigate.

In the evening we anchored. The weather began to deteriorate. A strong wind started up. The steep sides of the powerful ocean swell were wrinkled by the ripples caused by the wind. The sky was obscured by thick, dark clouds. The sun sank into them as if into an abyss. The restless wind rapidly strengthened and, moving with the swell, formed a disorderly pattern on the water. Soon darkness shrouded the ship.

"The most suitable moment," the destroyer commander said to his closest assistants and gave the order to prepare to lift anchor. He decided to distract the attention of the NATO ship tracking us and to hide from it in the stormy ocean. The frigate realized too late what was happening, when we were already separated by several miles. But to carry out the set task in full it was essential to gain speed.

The engine room telegraph handle stood at "full steam ahead." But the commander was constantly using the shipboard communications to ask the engineer's post:

"Can you go even more quickly? We must!" [passage omitted]

In the morning the destroyer had escaped its followers and had steered a course toward the region where it was to fulfill its combat training task. [passage omitted]